SPECIAL ELECTION NUMBER

LABOUR MONTHLY

EDITOR . R. PALME DUTT

"AGAINST WAGE-FREEZE & WAR"

by

WILLIAM GALLACHER M.P.

February 1950 Price: One Shilling

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THE KNOCKER

I should judge that there are few *Labour Monthly* readers—those at least who live in Britain—who are not by now on the knocker, or on the street-corner soap box. And this February Special Election number is also on the knocker; in any event it's a good companion on the doorstep When the election date was at last sprung, the issue needed immediate re-casting; and I think you will agree, after glancing at the Contents Table opposite, it was to good purpose. We were not caught napping; as, if rumour be true, Mr. Bevin was (among 'the spicy breezes' that blow 'o'er Ceylon's isle Where every prospect pleases And only . . .'). Nor were our contributors. Those who write for this magazine are no armchair theoreticians. Three contributors are prospective candidates; one in England, one in Scotland, and one in Wales. The Editor follows up his 1945 campaign against the then spokesman for arch-Tory foreign policy with a challenge in 1950 at Woolwich to Mr. Amory's heir and imitator, Mr. Bevin. (Many other recent contributors are also standing.) But clearly, whether writers or readers, the *Labour Monthly* regiment is at the front. I believe that this February number will be treasured on the doorstep as a canvasser's handbook; and as a guidebook to Britain by our overseas readers, who occupy ringside seats with a clear view of a battle which is of no small significance to them too.

Lately it has seemed that every letter we open begins with 'Congratulations on the new enlarged *Labour Monthly*'. When a London reader welcomed it as 'helping us to get a better understanding of the problems facing the Labour Movement during 1950', he wrote before the election date had been announced. Now there is added force to his comment. 'The increased size is most welcome, and even necessary', writes Malayan Student. 'The new style is grand', says L'Humanité; and the same phrase comes from a Didcot reader of 25 years standing. An ex-Warrant Officer, now a student, thinks it 'first-class. It is so good—size, the improved paper, the cartoons, more reviews, more articles; when my next grant comes through I will send a donation'. The thicker paper got special mention often enough. Socialist Sailor says 'it's fine. At last we have got to paper of which one page turns over at a time! And in particular I shall appreciate the greater space for book reviews, which form a very useful arsenal'. Another regular: Lovely! The thicker pages are a special joy to me'. From Ayrshire a reader sends a gift 'as my way of thanking you for the improved and enlarged *Labour Monthly*. My eyes now appreciate anything that makes for easier reading'. Others seize at once on a most important point: time and opportunity for increasing circulation. 'We must really make greater efforts in that direction in this area' (Essex). From Somerset: 'I am trying to get it into the local reading room here; it's badly enough needed there, as indeed we all need this extremely well-written, attractive and clear interpretation in R.P.D.'s Notes especially'. And he follows it up by undertaking a regular guarantee. (By the way, how many readers first met the magazine in their Public Library? Is it there now?) Quite a feature has been the appearance of new guarantors and revived guarantors who had long fallen by the wayside.

Continued on inside back cover.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vol. XXXII. No. 2 CONTENTS February, 1950

Page

NOTES OF THE MONTH: Election Choice, by R.P.D. 49
KENYA AND THE 'LABOUR MONTHLY' 59
THE ELECTION—THEN AND NOW: by William Gallacher, M.P. 60
'DON'T SPLIT THE PROGRESSIVE VOTE!': by Quæstor 66
WAGE FREEZE AND ELECTIONS: by Henry Purcell 75
TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO 80
THE FRENCH PEOPLE IN ACTION AGAINST WAR: by Joanny Berlioz .. 81
TIBET (with map): by A. Clegg 86

Book Reviews:

Britain's Crisis of Empire, by R. Palme Dutt: *Harry Pollitt* 92
The Story of the 'Daily Worker', by William Rust: *J. Davidson* 94
Soviet Humour, by Peter Tempest: *Gabriel* 95
Regionalism, by Peter Self: *N.B.* 95
Peacemaking in Perspective from Postdam to Paris, by F. W. Pick: *R.F.* 96
SHORTER NOTICES 96
CARTOONS 72-73

Notes of the Month

Election Choice

THE election battle is here. The British people are called on to fulfil a twofold task in this election. First, to defeat and rout the attempted come-back of Tory reaction in every constituency. Second, to return the greatest possible number of Communist and militant representatives, and register the widest support for their candidates, as the spearhead of the real fight for an alternative programme against the present policies of crisis, catastrophe and war. It is essential that every socialist, trade unionist and Labour supporter, every progressive and supporter of peace, should recognise this twofold task, as the only road of political advance in the conditions of this election.

From 1945 to 1950

1950 is not 1945. A new political era is opening. Those who see the 1950 election as only a repetition of 1945, who see it solely in terms of the choice between Toryism and Labourism, have fallen behind the pace of events. They have failed to take account of the lessons of five years of the Labour Government. They have failed to recognise the extent to which the policy of the two Front Benches

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has in practice merged on all major issues on the common ground of state capitalist monopoly and its offensive against the working class at home, and of Anglo-American imperialism and its war offensive abroad. The frontiers of the political battle have shifted. This shift needs to be reflected in the election. It is still essential to defeat Toryism, and to hold the ground won in 1945. But the forward march is now represented by the political fight of the Communist Party.

The Election and the Class Struggle

We are entering what is likely to prove the most hard-fought election of modern times in this country. Through the distorting electoral mirror the outlines of deepening class struggle in Britain are making themselves felt. The election is being fought against the background of Britain's growing crisis, which all the quack remedies of dollar aid and devaluation, of export drives and consumption cuts and colonial wars, beloved by both major parties, cannot solve. It is being fought in the shadow of impending industrial conflicts, of which the vote of the Trade Union Executives' Conference on January 12 has given a warning signal. A new spirit is abroad. Whatever the outcome of the election, the coming period will be one of political instability, deepening crisis and extending class conflicts. Tory Big Business is on the offensive. The masses are determined to fight back. This election is only the first round of the battle.

Election Date

The Government's choice of February for the election, despite the obvious disadvantages for the labour movement and protests of considerable sections, revealed their fear of the worsening economic situation. The previous proposal of an autumn election after the Washington Conference had been rejected. The blow of devaluation under American orders, after all the previous solemn guarantees and pledges against it, was too recent and brutal. The Trades Union Congress General Council had not yet been squared, and was proving difficult. By the beginning of this year Sir Stafford Cripps could boast of the initial illusory 'favourable' results of devaluation on exports, before the consequent rise in prices of imports and home prices had taken full effect. The experts warned that the further prospect of the economic situation was gloomy—as indeed the Government's own forecast submitted to the Marshall Plan Committee, completely contradicting the optimistic pictures for home consumption, amply demonstrated. The completion of the American Arms Agreement would lay bare the new rearmament

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

burdens to be placed on the British people. The April Budget would bring the prospect of new cuts and increased arms expenditure. At the same time the long negotiations of Cripps and Bevin with the Trades Union Congress leadership had at last borne fruit. By the end of the year the General Council had at last adopted the wage policy statement which accepted lower real wages. Here, indeed, was a 'triumph' for a Labour Government to be able to proclaim its ability to curb the working class and impose sacrifices, and still hold the trade union movement ranged behind it, even at the expense of renouncing the very objects of trade unionism. This 'triumph' was to be completed and demonstrated to the world by the adoption of the statement by an overwhelming majority at the Conference of Trade Union Executives on January 12. The moment seemed opportune. On January 11 the election was proclaimed for February. And then on January 12 the blow fell.

Thunderbolt

On the very morrow of the election announcement the industrial revolt of three and a half million trade unionists, of the miners, the engineers and the railwaymen (memories of the Triple Alliance), of the electricians, the foundry workers and the boilermakers, of the most decisive key sections of the industrial working class, was registered against the wage policy, not only of capitalism, but of the Labour Government, the Labour Party Executive and the Trades Union Congress General Council. A majority of five and a half millions at Bridlington only last September had shrunk to less than two thirds of a million in January. But in fact such a figure underestimates the real measure of working class feeling revealed. For the official majority was cast by union leaders, who had not consulted their membership. The National Union of Mineworkers, whose shift from support to rejection had played the decisive part in the resulting vote, was the only union which had consulted its membership. If the other unions had similarly consulted their membership would a single vote have remained for the policy of Mr. Attlee, Mr. Tewson, Mr. Deakin and the big employers? Most significant of all was the voting of the rank and file among the miners. The reformist majority on the Executive had endorsed the policy. The Delegate Conference had endorsed the policy by 406,000 to 273,000. But when it came to the coalfields, the workers rejected the policy by 518,000 to 147,000. Northumberland rejected the policy of Bowman. Durham rejected the policy of Sam Watson. Yorkshire rejected the policy of Jones. A merciless searchlight was thereby thrown on all the votes cast by entrenched reformist officials in the name of the workers at Labour and trade union conferences.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Communism and the Mass Movement

The startled capitalist press commentators were quick to note the significance of this coalfield ballot, not merely as a measure of the feeling of the miners, but of the feeling of the working class. *The Times* commented on January 11:

> It will have even greater significance as an attitude of rank and file workers; for the miners are the only big union to consult its membership area by area.

Similarly the *Economist* on January 14:

> The N.U.M. was the only union to consult its rank and file, and the response is a significant indication of the current mood of the workers.

But what follows from this inescapable recognition of the true outlook of the working class? Wage policy is not a minor subsidiary question. It is the heart of economic policy, of industrial policy, of home policy for the working class. Yet on this issue the outlook of the working class is admitted, not as a matter of opinion, but on the basis of objective inescapable evidence, to be diametrically opposed to the policy of the whole caboodle of capitalism, Toryism, reformism, the Labour Government, the B.B.C., the millionaire 'popular' press, the Labour Party and the General Council. Where, then, is the political voice expressing the outlook of the working class? The answer is equally inescapable. The only political voice expressing the outlook of the working class (the 'attitude of rank and file workers', the 'current mood of the workers') is the Communist Party. This fact alone would be justification of the fight of the Communist Party in this election.

Appearance and Reality

This does not mean that the true class feeling of the workers in the industrial field registered in this vote, as equally by the dockers' stand last year, unbreakable in the face of the entire armoury of capitalism, the capitalist press, the Labour Government and reformism, has yet reached the same degree of political clarity to find its corresponding invincible united political expression in the Communist Party—when that time comes, victory over capitalism will be here. It does not mean that even a tithe of the actual working class support for the policies which the Communist Party advocates, and opposition to the policies which the Tory, Liberal and Labour Parties advocate, will yet be reflected in the electoral field; the trickery and blackmail of the electoral system ('Vote Labour or you may let the Tory in') is devised to prevent this. But it does mean that the Communist Party, in fighting this election, is fighting, not on behalf of a section, but on behalf of the working class, as it is fighting on behalf of all democrats and supporters of peace.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Portent of the Future

The thunderbolt of that vote of the three-and-a-half millions of the decisive sections of the organised working class on January 12, on the eve of the election, laid bare in a flash the true alignment of forces, and spread consternation in the camp of all the politicians of the old order. By that vote Communism stood revealed, however limited yet and hemmed in and barred on the electoral field, as the only voice of those advancing millions. The shadow boxing of the Attlees and the Churchills, of the Bevans and the Wooltons, shrivels up into common opposition to the industrial working class and Communism. The fist of the class struggle tears through the theatrical trappings of electoral deception.

Tory Offensive

It is this real situation of deepening crisis and class struggle in Britain which governs the rival tactics, manœuvres and counter-manœuvres, and even intensive ' battle for power ' (always of course within ' the rules of the game ', i.e., subject to the common maintenance of the capitalist dictatorship) of Toryism and the Labour Party leadership in this election, despite the obvious increasing approximation of their practical programmes. All the most powerful forces of capitalist monopoly, organised in the Tory machine, which has been rebuilt, re-equipped and streamlined with limitless lavish expenditure in the years since the defeat of 1945, are now concentrating their maximum effort to take over the direct reins of government (as they have already done in the other countries of American domination, from France and Belgium to Australia and New Zealand, once Social-Democracy has served its immediate post-war purpose and been flung aside), not because they fear the Bevins and Morrisons, but because they fear the rising tide of working class revolt behind them and have no confidence in the capacity of the Attlees, Cripps and Tewsons to control it. This offensive of Toryism, representing the offensive of open capitalist reaction, must be defeated. But can it be defeated by capitulating to its demands?

Dilemma of Social-Democracy

Caught on the slippery slope of rising crisis and rising working class revolt, Social-Democracy seeks simultaneously to impose the cuts demanded by capitalism, to maintain the faith and confidence of the workers by boundless boasts and promises (guaranteed ' full employment ' under capitalism on the eve of a slump, ' fair shares ' of the Ritz and Rowton House, etc.), and to stake its claim to the capitalists that it is the one and only truest, best, most effective bulwark against working class revolt and Communism. So arises the situation eloquently described by the Labour Government Minister, John

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Strachey, writing in 1937 on the lessons of the fall of the Second Labour Government:

> The orders of the capitalists are of course always the same. They are to solve the crisis at the expense of the workers. Any Left Government which begins to do this, as the Labour Government did, is not only dead, but damned.
>
> It produces a gigantic wave of disillusionment among its own supporters, who, instead of the great concessions which they have been promised, receive cuts from their own Government.
>
> If the capitalists can induce the leaders of the Labour movement to do this, they are on the high road to destroy the whole working class movement.

1950 is not 1931. This time, disillusionment with reformism and cuts must lead to new advance, not to surrender to Toryism. That is the significance of the extended Communist fight in the present election. The Communist campaign is the spearhead of the fight against Tory revival, the menace of which arises from the policies of reformism. Only the fighting class spirit which finds expression in the Communist campaign can prevent a come-back of Toryism. If the Labour majority is successfully maintained at this election, it will not be thanks to the popularity of Mr. Attlee and his programme of wage-cutting, but to the healthy hatred and distrust of the masses for Toryism.

Elector's Dilemma

But here arises the dilemma of the serious, democratic public-spirited elector. The august sovereign elector is offered the choice between Messrs. Attlee-Bevin-Cripps and Messrs. Churchill-Eden-Butler to govern him and direct his destinies for the next five years. This is the extent of his 'freedom' once in five years. Thereafter every calamity and misfortune which falls upon his unhappy head for the next five years from the crimes and follies of his rulers is declared to be his own choice: 'You willed it. This is the price of democracy'. Accordingly our democratic public-spirited elector ponders his choice with due care and circumspection, recognising that the life of himself and his children may depend on the outcome, as the experience of two world wars has shown. Loathing Toryism as the representative of everything he abominates, of capitalism, landlordism, imperialism, colonialism, titled flunkeydom and snobbery, wage-cutting, rearmament and wars, he decides to place his cross for the candidate of Messrs. Attlee, Bevin and Cripps. But here comes the hitch.

Bi-Partisan Trap

Being a truly conscientious public-spirited elector, he examines with care, not only the beaming countenances of the gentlemen he is

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

privileged to place on the Treasury Bench to read out the answers prepared by their departments, but also the actual policy they propose. And here he finds to his dismay, when he tries to find his way past the mellifluous phrases and mutual recriminations about past crimes, and get down to brass tacks, a remarkable similarity on all the most important, urgent, burning, really contentious issues which will in fact determine his future. Atlantic Pact? Agreed. Marshall Plan? Agreed. Wage-Freeze? Agreed. Colossal ransom to landlords for housebuilding schemes? Agreed. Cold war? Agreed. American troops on British soil? Agreed. Sanctity of the National Debt? Agreed. Sanctity of Rent, Interest and Profits? Agreed. Purge the Communists? Agreed. Police protection for Mosley? Agreed. War in Malaya? Agreed. Rearmament? Agreed. Our democratic elector wishes to defeat Toryism. But he wishes to defeat Toryism precisely because he is opposed to these policies, which he regards as Tory policy. What is he to do? If he abstains or transfers his vote to express his disapproval of the Government's policy, he is in danger of letting the hated Tories in. If he votes for the Government to keep the Tories out, he is signing his approval of the policies he abominates, and he will be accused later, when the bill comes in, of having endorsed these policies of his own free will. Either way, our ' sovereign ' elector is trapped. Either way, he gets the same dish, served with a different sauce; and to add insult to injury, the dish will be declared to be his own free choice—so different from the slavery of socialist countries. At this point our democratic public-spirited elector is in danger of flying into a temper and calling the whole system a swindle and confidence trick—in which case he can be dismissed from further consideration as a 'subversive element' and 'enemy of democracy'. Or, if he belongs to the majority, he is more likely to continue to exercise the illusion of choice in a sporting spirit, but to reveal certain signs of ' apathy ' or ' cynicism ' about ' party politics '—for which he will be justly upbraided for his lack of democratic public spirit.

Secret of Anglo-American " Democracy "

This dilemma is characteristic of the peculiar ' two party system ' beloved of Anglo-American ' democracy '. The bi-partisan ' two party system ' is the magic secret of Anglo-American ' democracy ', whereby the reality of capitalist dictatorship is given a ' democratic ' façade of popular choice. The wrath or hopes of the people can be successively switched to the ' Ins ' and the ' Outs ', who act as lightning conductors, while the same essential strategic policy of imperialism continues unchanged (' continuity of foreign policy '), the fundamental social basis of exploitation is preserved, and the real ruling financial oligarchy remains invisible, anonymous and guiltless. This system can be seen working in classic shape in current American

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

politics (the grand choice between Truman and Dewey, when both were pursuing the bi-partisan policy of the ' cold war '), or in the long alternation over many decades of Labour and non-Labour Governments in Australia and New Zealand. In Britain there was an awkward period of transition, in face of the rising challenge of the early socialist and working class movement, until the moribund Liberal Party had successfully drawn the top Labour Party leadership into the magic circle to succeed it (the emergence of the Labour Party from a struggling basis comparable to the present position of the Communist Party to a larger parliamentary representation as a recognised party in 1906 was entirely based on the gift of seats by the Liberal Party, that is, by the ruling class). Today the two party system is for the moment re-established on the Conservative-Labour (actually Right-Wing Labour) basis; and the Labour Party leaders do not hesitate to proclaim that the maintenance of the Conservative Party is an essential element of the Constitution.

" Third Party " Problem

What happens to the opposition in face of this common front of the ' two party system ' on all major issues? The functioning of the ' two party system ' requires that any genuinely independent third party which challenges the system shall be—not prohibited, for this would break the illusion of formal ' freedom '—but so relegated to the background, harassed, visited with financial penalties for being a minority, deprived of material means of access to the majority of the electorate, deprived of the possibility of placing its candidates before the majority of electors, its members persecuted or victimised, that it will be automatically regarded as ' outside practical politics '. The magic of the ' two party system ' is calculated to ensure, not only that the desires and hopes, the angers and hates of the people shall be diverted into safe channels acceptable to the financial oligarchy, but that any third party which challenges the system shall be automatically regarded by the majority of the electorate as ineligible for support, however acceptable its programme, for fear of ' wasting a vote ', ' letting the other side in ', etc. This is the peculiar problem obstructing the advance of the Left in the United States and Britain. It is this deadlock which needs to be broken, if a political advance is to be achieved. The initial formation of the Labour Party by the early socialists against the then dominant Conservative-Liberal two-party system represented a first attempt to break this deadlock. But once the Labour Party abandoned its original basis of a federal union of all socialist and working class organisations, and entered on the MacDonaldite line of right-wing splitting of the working class and acceptance of capitalist politics, the Labour Party under its present leadership has succeeded to the position of the old Liberal Party. The battle for independent working class politics has still to be fought

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

through to victory. The significance of the offensive of the Communist Party and the Labour Independents in the present election is precisely that it represents the spearhead of such a fight for a real political advance, carrying forward the original fight of the early Labour Party into the new conditions, and blazing the trail ahead towards the goal of a united labour movement really independent of capitalism and therefore capable of achieving the victory of socialism.

The Answer to the Dilemma

What, then, is the answer in the conditions of this election to the dilemma of the serious elector who simultaneously wishes to defeat Toryism and is opposed to the reactionary Tory policies advocated by the dominant Labour Party leadership? How is he to escape being caught on one or other horn of the dilemma? There could of course be a relatively simple answer—to establish a democratic electoral system, by which the elector could freely vote for the programme and party of his choice, with confidence that it will obtain a parliamentary representation in accordance with its measure of electoral support, and without the slightest fear of thereby 'letting in' some party that he hates. Such a democratic electoral reform has been consistently urged by the Communist Party; but such democratic electoral reform is opposed like perdition by the combined block of the Tory-Labour machines, because it would mean the end of their domination. Hence the answer requires to be given in terms of the existing electoral conditions. The Communist Party has endeavoured to give such an answer. The Communist Party urges that the campaign for a progressive programme, in opposition to the present reactionary policies, should be conducted in every constituency. In one sixth of the constituencies the Communist Party has put forward candidates directly representing such a programme; and this fight represents the key political fight of the election for a real advance and change of policy. In the remaining constituencies, in the absence of a Communist or left candidate, the Communist party advocates that the electors should vote Labour in order to ensure the defeat of the Tory or Liberal candidates of the open capitalist parties. In this way it is sought to combine the aim of defeating Toryism and giving political expression to the fight for an alternative policy. This answer is not a perfect logical answer; no perfect logical answer is possible in the conditions of the existing electoral system. But it does represent the best possible answer to show the way forward for the progressive fight in the coming election.

"Split Vote" Problem

To those millions of sincere Labour electors who (as shown in the vote of the three-and-a-half millions at the Conference of Trade Unions Executives) in practice support the essential demands of the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Communist programme, 'The Socialist Road for Britain', and are opposed to the reactionary policies of the present leadership, but who still so far hesitate to vote Communist because they fear to 'split the vote' and bring back the nightmare of Tory rule, the following considerations may be urged. First, to defeat Toryism (a correct and indispensable aim), it is not enough to reject Tory candidates, if the same policies are smuggled back through the side door by the present Labour Party leadership; it is necessary also to fight openly and directly for a militant policy. Secondly, the Labour Party in its early days had to face the same complaint of the 'split vote' from indignant Liberals and 'Lib.-Lab.' supporters, who urged withdrawal in the interests of the fight against Toryism. Had the early Labour Party surrendered to this political blackmail, it would have never advanced to its present strength. Thirdly, the Communist Party has striven throughout the thirty years of its existence for working class political unity and electoral unity. Every offer has been turned down by the Labour Party leadership. The responsibility for the split rests with Right-Wing Labour. Fourth, the Communist Party has consistently advocated a democratic electoral system, as already explained, through proportional representation, which would banish completely the spectre of the 'split vote'. This has been steadily opposed and blocked by the Labour Party leadership in unity with the Tory Party. Thus the Labour Party leadership deliberately maintains in existence the 'split vote' problem in the hope of gagging left-wing representation. This manœuvre must not be allowed to stifle the growth of the left wing, which is vital for the future of the whole working class movement.

Wider Perspective

This election needs to be seen against a wider perspective. We are entering a stormy period of deepening crisis and extending class battles in Britain and the whole capitalist world. In such a period it is not the mere figure of electoral votes that is decisive, but the real strength of opposing class forces, the degree of political clarity, effective mobilisation and readiness for action. We may recall the experience following the election of 1906, when an overwhelming popular electoral victory against Toryism placed in power the representatives of the liberal politics of class-conciliation and social reform, with an inner imperialist core. The new administration carried through many measures of social reform; but the really decisive imperialist policy and war policy of the dominant leadership wrecked the promises of social progress, and the politics of class-conciliation proved bankrupt before the deepening class contradictions. In the election of 1910 the same administration was able to renew its mandate with a reduced majority; the electors were still grateful for the social reforms, still hated Toryism. But the glamour of the 1906 landslide had passed; a

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

new era was opening. There followed the titanic industrial struggles and rising militant class revolt of 1911-1914, tearing aside the progressive deception of the politicians of class-conciliation. This whole period of storm and stress culminated in the first world war.

Into Battle

Today we are at a much deeper stage of the crisis of capitalism. The whole tempo of political development is far more rapid. Communism is advancing all over the world. In Britain also the signals are sounding every day more clearly for the great and radical changes of the whole social structure which are due and overdue. The politics of Toryism and of Reformism alike are proving their bankruptcy in the experience of the people. The trumpets are sounding to battle. Ever more clearly the Communist Party is leading the battle of the common people in every field. This election is only the first round of the advancing mass struggle which will extend ever more widely in the coming period, as the crisis deepens, for the whole future of Britain. Our aim must be set in this election, not only to ensure the defeat of Toryism, but to open that new political advance, represented by the extended fight of the candidates of the Communist Party and the Left, which alone can guarantee the future victory.

January 17, 1950. R.P.D.

KENYA AND THE LABOUR MONTHLY

A HINT TO HECKLERS

For seven months of last year, ever since the news leaked out that the Governor of Kenya had banned the reading of the *Labour Monthly*, we have given the facts, the questions in parliament, and finally the letter of protest signed by seven members of parliament (Labour, Labour Independent, and Liberal).

Why not put the question *to each Candidate*? Will he or she promise to fight for the freedom of the press? Are they in favour of lifting the ban which (with the recent additions) prevents the people of Kenya, Tanganyika, British Guiana, Singapore and Zanzibar from seeing a copy of the *Labour Monthly*?

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ELECTION — THEN AND NOW

WILLIAM GALLACHER, M.P.

For the 1945 election Gollancz turned out a number of books directed towards exposing the reactionary character of Tory policy and the progressive, if not revolutionary, policy of the Labour leaders. One of these was written by none other than Aneurin Bevan, with the title 'Why not trust the Tories?' Mr. Bevan is as wordy and confusing as ever MacDonald was, but while MacDonald played up to the 'Classes', Mr. Bevan always sought to give his demagogy a working class content. He went for the 'big fellows'. Now the 'big fellows' have him in their grip and he agrees to, and supports, pacts and cuts and policies that would a few years ago have aroused him to the extremes of synthetic wrath. Consider this book of his. At the beginning there is an introduction which says 'One advantage flows from the fact that the events I deal with all fall within the past twenty-six years. It should make it more difficult to practise successfully the same tricks within so short a time'.

Read the book, see what the tricks are, and then it becomes very obvious that however difficult the operation may be, Mr. Bevan is prepared to have a try at it. You haven't got the book? Well, all right, I'll give you one or two excerpts from it just to show you what I mean. First having given a paragraph from the introduction, I'll take a jump right to the end of the book and note the concluding sentence. When he wrote it Mr. Bevan never dreamed that in the shortest possible time at the behest or rather the command of Wall Street he would be linked up with every Fascist and near-Fascist supporter of Capitalism in piling up armaments far and away beyond the capacity of our economic resources. Here it is, cut it out and paste it up for all to read, or better still, send it on to Mr. Bevan and invite him to pass it around his Cabinet colleagues.

> You may have laughed at the 1914-18 generation and the way it was deceived. Watch you are not caught the same way. Or it may be that the day will come when, a generation from now, you will be seeing your young son off to fight yet another war from which you were not wise enough to protect him.

What do you think of that? 'A generation from now'—but the warmongers are not prepared to wait that long. 'A generation from now' and the socialist countries will be away, plain for all to see, far ahead of the decrepit, semi-bankrupt capitalist countries. That's why war has become an extremely urgent matter for the capitalists, par-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ticularly the capitalists of the United States. Socialist progress will turn the scale in every European country. What chance is there for American capitalism if the whole of Europe goes socialist? That is the nightmare that is driving the American multi-millionaires into a frenzy that now affects the majority of the American population. Psychopathic cases in America are prepared to destroy Europe rather than see it taken over by the ordinary people and Mr. Bevan and his colleagues are with the psychopathics and against the people.

What went on in Paris just the other week, Mr. Bevan? All the brass-hats were there and the Americans were there. There has been sufficient of a leak to make us aware that the forces in France and in this country are going to come under the direction of America either in an open or concealed form. In some cases it will be open, in others hidden, but all the time it will be there. America will decide when our lads have to be sent to the slaughter—when Europe will be destroyed—are you doing anything to stop that, Mr. Bevan? No. You and your friend Churchill (Oh, I know you make a point of scoring off him in the House, always go for the 'Big Fellow', but everyone knows there's never anything said that can't be sorted out in the smoke-room), so to continue, you and your friend Churchill support America in all the moves it makes towards driving the people to war against the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. But the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries represent a mighty bastion of peace which steadily draws the people of the capitalist countries to its support. Here in this country we will fight against your war policy, Mr. Bevan, and you can pass that information on to Mr. A. V. Alexander and to the pious Sir Stafford Cripps.

Mr. Bevan has a chapter headed 'Death by Words'. It's an interesting story the author has to tell. It is an unsparing condemnation of the Tories, but it is also an exposure of the mind and politics of Mr. Bevan. Take this, for example, from page 25:

> You remember the old saw children sometimes chant at each other when they quarrel—'sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never hurt me'—nothing could be more wrong than that. Words have a terrible power to hurt people. Indeed, words are probably the most powerful things in the world. That is why the masters of words are so often the masters of nations. When people hear the right words they are apt to think the right actions will follow.

The Tories, taking advantage of this, told quite a story following the first world war and thereby got themselves a substantial majority in the House of Commons. Mr. Bevan, after drawing attention to this, goes on, page 27:

> You will see from this that the Tories are in possession of supreme power. What they want they can get. *If they really want to carry out a great reform there is nothing to stop them* (my emphasis, W.G.).

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Very good, Mr. Bevan, but these words condemn you. If they were true of the Tories, so also are they true of you. You and those associated with you in the Labour Government ' are in possession of supreme power '. What have you done with it? Have you solved the housing problem? That was one of the pledges you made at the General Election. It was to be the first priority. It was to be tackled as a military operation. Think of how you sneered at the Tories. You don't remember? I'll refresh your memory. On page 76 of ' Why not trust the Tories?' we are informed that Mr. Willink ' told us that in the first year after the war one hundred thousand houses will be built and two hundred thousand would be put in hand—not finished, mind you—in the second year. . . Not much of a blitzkrieg, is it? It has taken five years of Governmental labour to produce that mouse '.

That is followed by a quotation from Churchill about temporary houses. Said Churchill:

> I hope we may make up to half a million of these and for this purpose not only plans but actual preparations are being made during the war on a nation-wide scale. Factories are being assigned, the necessary set-up is being made ready, materials are being ear-marked, and as far as possible the most convenient sites will be chosen. The swift production of these temporary houses is the only way in which the immediate needs of our people can be met in the four or five years that follow the war.

So much for Churchill. What of Bevan? ' There you are ', says Mr. Bevan, ' after five years of hullaballoo what you get by way of a programme with any sense of urgency behind it is steel boxes '. Mr. Bevan was quite definitely opposed to temporary houses. He poured contempt on them and those who sponsored or approved of them. Why? Because, as he says on page 77, ' The danger about temporary houses is that not only do they serve to take the sense of urgency out of the demand for a really comprehensive housing programme, but they are apt to become permanent '.

Where is the ' comprehensive housing programme '? Where is the ' blitzkrieg '? It may be that Mr. Bevan has built a few more houses than would have been built by the Tories. It wouldn't require any special ability to achieve that, but most certainly if he hadn't made use of the temporary houses which originally he attacked with such violence, his showing for four years would be poor indeed. In a measure, the ' steel boxes ' promised by the Tories have been his salvation. Don't trust the Tories, that's good advice; but we don't seem to get much further trusting Mr. Bevan. The Tories had the power if they had wanted to build the houses. There was nothing to stop them. Mr. Bevan had the power, just the same as the Tories—why didn't he build them? Why such a poor result for four years in face of the desperate need?

Then take the Health Service. Mr. Bevan isn't overshadowed by

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

modesty. He likes to go round boasting that ours is the finest Health Service in the world. This simply isn't true and if it were the credit would have to go to the Tories and the Liberals. True the voluntary hospitals have been taken over by the State. A very desirable procedure. But the hospitals were already there. Mr. Bevan didn't produce the hospitals. The panel system has been extended, but it also was already there. On these all that could be claimed is that he had improved somewhat on what had been done by his Tory and Liberal predecessors. He can claim little credit for this. For since the inception of the Health Service, every successive Minister has contributed his quota to its advance. But following the war the time had arrived for a really big advance, for something of an entirely different order to anything known before. In all countries where the workers had taken power Health Centres of the most ambitious character were being established. Was Britain going to lag behind? No, sir, not with Mr. Bevan on the job. See him march forward to the box on April 30, 1946, to propose a second reading for the National Health Service Bill. Listen to him as he concludes his speech. Hansard, column 63:

> I should have thought it ought to have been a pride to hon. members in all parts of the House that Great Britain is able to embark upon an ambitious scheme of this proportion. *When it is carried out* (my emphasis, W.G.) it will place this country in the forefront of all countries in the world in medical services.

When it is carried out! Now let us jump back a bit to the middle of his speech. Here in columns 57 and 58 we get the following:

> Third instrument to which the Health Services are to be articulated is the Health Centre, to which we attach very great importance indeed. (The other two 'instruments' are the hospitals and the doctors, W.G.) . . . the general practitioner cannot afford the apparatus necessary for a proper diagnosis in his own surgery. This will be available at the Health Centre. . . The Centres will vary: there will be large centres at which there will be dental clinics, maternity and child welfare services, and general practitioners' consultative facilities and there will also be smaller surgeries where practitioners can see their patients. The smaller centres are necessary because some centres may be a considerable distance from people's homes. So it will be necessary to have simpler ones, nearer their homes, fixed in a constellation with the larger ones.

Has anyone, anywhere, seen any of these 'constellations'? Has anyone seen a Health Centre? An ambitious scheme! Right, Mr. Bevan, a very ambitious scheme. But what has happened to it? I suggested in the House one day that Mr. Bevan should visit Czechoslovakia and study the Health Service there. Have they got Health Centres? They certainly have, and what is more, they have got Health Resorts. The same applies to Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria. Health resorts that were the special preserve of Emperors and Aristocrats. Now they are taken over by the Health Department

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and in most cases operated by the Trade Unions. ' When it is carried out ', said Mr. Bevan on April 30, 1946, and it is now 1950 and there isn't a Health Centre anywhere and no likelihood of any being established. But he and his cronies go on talking about the finest Health Service in the world just as though there were Health Centres and ' constellations ' in every part of the country. ' The Tories ', said Mr. Bevan, ' have power. What they want they can get '. Did you want the Health Centres, Mr. Bevan? If so, why haven't we got them?

All right, we haven't got the houses, and we haven't got the Health Centres, but at any rate we've got ' full employment ' or very near full employment and for that credit must go to Mr. Bevan and his colleagues. Not so, not even that can be counted unto them for righteousness. ' Don't trust the Tories '. They're ' lower than vermin'. That's the stuff to give them. That's the language to rouse the masses. Just listen to them cheer. Hear them comparing notes when the oration is ended. He's a great lad. He isn't frightened to tell them off. But what's this? The same Mr. Bevan has to do a turn at the Labour Party Conference at Scarborough on the 18th of May, 1949. He is talking about the Tories, not the British, the American variety. And what does he say? He tells us that without the assistance of the American Tories, unemployment in this country would at once rise by 1,500,000. Morrison went one better. He said, ' We should be facing big cuts in rations and a million or two unemployed if our generous friends in America had not come to our aid '. In other words, had it not been for the American Tories, conditions in this country under a Labour Government would be as bad or worse than ever they were under a Tory Government. I am not saying that. Bevan and Morrison say it. Trust the Tories—the American Tories. I'll bet Bevan never dreamt he would come to that, when in 1944 he wrote, 'Why not trust the Tories?'. But you may argue there's a crisis —a deep economic crisis. That's why the houses and the Health Centres haven't materialised, that's why we have to place our faith in the big Tory capitalists of America. It won't do, brother, it won't do. The crisis could easily be solved if we would develop trade and friendship with the Soviet Union, the countries of Eastern Europe and Liberated China. But cutting home consumption and boosting exports will never solve the crisis. It can only deepen. Every cut in domestic consumption has simply led to a worsening of the situation and to further cuts. Every socialist ought to understand this and refuse to give support to such a policy. Here is what Mr. Bevan had to say about it in 1944. After quoting from Tory authorities he goes on, page 61 :

> The logic of that is clear. We are to accept a lower standard of life in order to sell more goods abroad. . . But if we accept a lower standard of life in order to export more goods, by that very act we require less goods

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from other nations and so make it more difficult for them to buy from us. If we adopt a policy of scarcity here we help to impose it on other nations, and the last result will be worse than the first. . . Plenty begets plenty and scarcity begets scarcity'.

I could go on quoting at great length on that repudiation of what is now the policy of Bevan's own government, but I will content myself with this final word from page 63:

In short, attempts at increasing exports by lowering consumption contract the world market instead of expanding it. It is a gospel of despair, of desperation and of ultimate disaster.

Yet it is this very gospel that Mr. Bevan and the Labour leaders, in keeping with the Tories, will be putting before the people in this present election. The Miners, through their branches, have already repudiated this gospel. Where there are Communists standing let them carry that repudiation to the ballot-box. For the Communist Party alone has a policy that can safeguard the present and the future, that can carry the workers forward to Peace and Socialism.

'Labour Monthly' learns that a Victimisation and Reinstatement Fund has been opened for nine full-time officers recently dismissed by the Transport and General Workers' Union because they refused to sign a declaration affirming that they were not members of the Communist Party. First call upon it will be to ensure a proper standard of living until alternative employment can be found. It will be recalled that at the Union's last Conference a resolution was carried denouncing the 'purge' of workers from their jobs because of their Communist Party membership or sympathy as being 'absolutely undemocratic' and called for the full force of union machinery to be used in their support, an ironic comment! The fund is sponsored by the Committee for Trade Union Democracy, on whose behalf Mr. W. Jones (London 'Bus Section) of 3 Hale End Road, E.17, will accept donations and issue periodic accounts.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"DON'T SPLIT THE PROGRESSIVE VOTE!"

QUÆSTOR

THE Labour Party Election manifesto issued on January 18 rounds off the signs of political degeneration of the Labour Party Right-wing leadership that have become steadily more apparent during the last five years. With this declaration that leadership steps forward before the nation as the true successor of the Liberal Party of pre-1914 days —not only in language but in substance: a machine aiming at the maintenance of the capitalist system in difficult times at home and abroad, by concessions in secondary questions to the British workers at the expense of colonial peoples, by firm use of the State machinery to modernise British capitalism and repress 'excessive' demands by the workers, by maintaining armaments and preparing a new war for the redivision of the world. It would be a painful but useful exercise for every ardent supporter of Attlee, Bevin and Bevan to go through the Labour Party manifesto point by point and compare it with the Liberal Yellow Book (1928) 'Britain's Industrial Future'.

'But how can that be?' some indignant member of the Labour Party may ask. 'Doesn't the Manifesto aim at a future based on free social democracy? Doesn't it promise freedom from the enslaving material bonds of capitalism? Doesn't it pledge the nationalisation of the sugar industry and the water supply? Doesn't it say that "if necessary" any "appropriate" section of the chemical industry will be nationalised? Doesn't it even twice use the word "Socialism"?'

Yes, the manifesto promises all those things. And in working them out it reveals the class for which the Labour leaders now speak—the monopoly capitalist class of Great Britain. Read the speeches of Lloyd George from 1905 to 1911: they ring with the same promises, more eloquently put. The manifesto points to Labour Party legislation during the last five years—national insurance, industrial injuries, national assistance, national health service, educational reforms. But the Liberal Government of 1906-14 also provided social reforms as valuable at the time—old-age pensions, town planning, insurance Acts, more progressive income tax, a more progressive Trades Disputes Act, the Parliament Act. The Tories shouted red ruin at that time, as they have done these last five years; but their monopoly capitalist system went unharmed.

'Ah, yes', says our Labour Party member, 'but how about State ownership of the Bank of England, the railways, the mines, gas, water, road and civil air transport? The Liberals never introduced such Socialist measures'. No, they were never forced to (though

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they did nationalise the telephones): Britain's position in the capitalist world then was still unchallenged, her markets were still enormous, the British working class was still politically inactive in its vast majority. But why call these measures Socialist? The national bank was owned by the State in Tsarist Russia: the railways were owned by the State in Fascist Poland and Italy. And for the seven branches of economy taken over by the State, former shareholders are being assigned bonds at the estimated value of £2,264 millions, producing a certain annual revenue for them of £72 millions, a fixed charge on industry and commerce. And who pays it? The working people—just as they did under private ownership: only the money now goes to Government *rentiers* instead of private shareholders. What is Socialist about that? Socialism means expropriating the capitalists, not turning one form of private robbery of workers into another.

And to whom does the Bank of England supply its credit and the National Coal Board its industrial coal: whose manufactures are transported by the nationalised railways and lorries—socially owned industry, commerce, agriculture? Not at all. These nationalised branches of economy merely act as efficient auxiliary services to the more than 80% of the national economy directly owned by the capitalist monopolies. It is this basic fact that is reflected in the discovery by the *London and Cambridge Economic Service* (May, 1949) that, between 1945 and 1948, the national income rose from just over £8¼ thousand millions to a little over £9½ thousand millions: but the share taken by the wage earners and Forces (pay and allowances) fell from 66.2% of the total to 62.7%, while the share taken in rent, profit, income from abroad, etc., rose corresponding.

But, says Mr. Attlee's uncritical follower, 'Labour declares that full employment is the cornerstone of the new society. The Labour Government has secured full employment and fair shares. Destitution has been banished. The Labour Government has made Britain a symbol of justice and social advance, thanks to the policy of applying the moral principles of Socialism to our relations with other people'. And he falls to denouncing the Tories, and showing how much worse it would be if they got in, which nobody questions: but this was precisely the argument that kept his father and grandfather, too, for so long under the sway of the Liberal Party.

A great leader of Liberalism, in the days when the mass of the workers followed his Party as faithfully as, up to now, they have been following the right-wing leaders of the Labour Party, was once asked to define the difference between Toryism and Liberalism. Without hesitation he replied: 'Toryism means distrust of the people tempered by fear. Liberalism means trust in the people, tempered by prudence'. In no respect does the stark dominating fact about the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Labour Party leadership—that it has become the alternative caretaker of British monopoly capitalism—stand out more than its complete acceptance of the definition of Liberalism for itself, as shown in the whole character of its election manifesto.

This ' prudence ' shows itself in two ways. The first is seen in the absence from the manifesto of any of those real and unqualified pledges to the workers which the Labour Party made when fighting the elections of 1923, 1929 and 1945 as a minority—and without expecting to be returned as a majority. No capital levy: no pledge to seek friendship with Soviet Russia: no sweeping promises of large-scale housebuilding, ' conducted as a military operation ': no undertakings about health centres and new hospitals: no promise to slash the crushing burden of arms expenditure: no declaration of belief in land nationalisation: no repetition of the tremendous declaration of 1945 that ' Labour will not tolerate freedom to exploit other people ': no unqualified promise of equal pay for equal work: no further assertion of the ' common bond with the working people of all countries who have achieved a new dignity and influence through their long struggles against Nazi tyranny ' (1945).

Why this prudence? Because to carry out these and similar pledges would involve fearless inroads into the rights of private property. Because the Labour leaders thought they were safe in making them in 1923, 1929 and 1945—since they never expected to find themselves a majority; and, sure enough, during the first (1924) and second (1929-31) Labour Governments they had a convenient excuse for not fulfilling their pledges. They were in a minority, they were in office and not in power. But in 1945 they found themselves in a majority, and they had to choose: fulfilment of pledges or brotherhood with capitalists, Socialism or State capitalism (the State acting as caretaker and organiser for the capitalists). They chose capitalism. The great vote of the trade unions against wage-freezing on January 12, against all the demands of the Labour Government, the General Council and the *Daily Herald,* showed that the workers are becoming aware of it.

But there is a second form of prudence, more hypocritical still, in which the manifesto of the right-wing Labour leaders even more strikingly resembles those of their Liberal predecessors. These phrases mean one thing on the eve of the poll, and something quite different a week later. ' Full employment the cornerstone of the new society ' means, to the intending voter, a promise of Labour leaders to subordinate the interests of the capitalists to the job of providing a decent minimum livelihood for the workers. After the election, it means, on the contrary, the workers accepting more devaluation and a further five per cent. rise in the cost of living before even putting in a claim for wage rises—because to hurt the capitalists would

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'reduce employment'. 'Purchasing power and production must march together'—before the poll. Afterwards, as we have seen, it turns out that it is the capitalists' purchasing power which must rise with production, while that of the workers falls. The British people, thanks to the Labour Government, 'have done an infinitely better job than after the first World War'—with discreet silence about the American dollars that made possible *both* maintenance of the standard of life *and* a gigantic, disproportionate burden of 700,000 men under arms and over 400,000 workers supplying them, making, with the 300,000 unemployed, nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions in a *concealed* reserve army unemployed in production.

'The moral principles of Socialism' applied to British relations with other peoples—and British Secret Service agents exposed in Hungary, in Poland, in Bulgaria, in Rumania, organising sabotage and espionage against Socialist States! 'Britain has won the confidence of many millions in Africa and Asia'—with Nehru and the Indian capitalists only able to pursue a pro-British policy by wholesale suppression of the strongest trade unions and punitive expeditions against the peasantry: with Nigeria and the Gold Coast passing under open brutal police rule! 'We remain ready at any moment to co-operate fully with Russia'—when every tentative trade negotiation in five years has broken down, on the refusal of the Labour Government to coerce the iron and steel monopolies into providing the material for the engineering industry thirsting for Russian orders (in spite of the loud talk about 'controls', 'planning', and so forth). 'Creating the economic and social basis for self-government in the colonies, aiming to root out poverty, ignorance and disease' there—with the trade unions and all other popular liberties suppressed in Malaya, for all but the tiny minority of privileged whites, with bloody terror in full blast against the patriotic Communist leaders of the Malayan people, just as the British troops and Black-and-Tans waged it in Ireland in 1919/21 (but then the British Labour leaders conducted a campaign of protest).

And what a spate of indiarubber stock formulæ of the typical company promoter! 'Labour will *encourage* the introduction of equal pay for equal work for women *when the nation's economic circumstances allow it*. . . We shall take *whatever measures may be required* to control financial forces. . . A *development council* will be established for shipbuilding. . . Exports must be sold *in the right markets*. . . New leadership *should be given* its chance to emerge' (in nationalised industry). '. . . Private enterprise must be set free from the stranglehold of *restrictive* monopolies'. (And aren't the monopolies private enterprise? And what if they are not restrictive?) 'The nation's duty to farmers and landworkers will be *reconsidered* and the unions *consulted* about the *best* means of giving farm work-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ers security in their homes. . . Anti-social private agreements to keep prices *too high* will be dealt with ', and so on, to the point of nausea.

Can anyone but a complete imbecile believe that phrases like these mean that women will get equal pay for equal work, that ship-building—threatened by U.S. capitalism and its German and Japanese satellites—will get orders, that the great markets of the Socialist world, from Poland to China, will cease to be boycotted, that the miners and the railwaymen will win their demand to remove the old gang of servants of capitalism from responsible positions and replace them by trusted representatives of the working class, that the basic industries will be taken from monopoly capital and put in the hands of the people, that the scandal of tied cottages will be ended, that the cost of living will be brought down 15-25% every six months as it has been for two years in the U.S.S.R.—instead of rising steadily as it has under the Labour Government?

Alike in their performance over the last five years, based upon the subordination of British economy and foreign policy to the interest of the U.S.A., and in their shifty and double-faced proposals for the next five years, the Labour leaders have shown their hand. A simple Labour majority today is an alternative to the Tories in the same way as the Liberals used to be an alternative to the Conservatives: another set of caretakers for capitalism, with their own special uses to the capitalist class just because they claim to show ' trust in the people '. In the world of 1950, the Socialist countries are hard at work raising their living standards, developing their national resources, drawing upon one another's resources, sharing their experience and special abilities and raising culture. And at the same moment the British Labour Party leaders, like the Liberal leaders of 1906 to 1914, attempt to abuse the trust and confidence of trade unionists, co-operators and the working folk generally by enlisting their help in attacks on the colonial peoples, in war propaganda and, still worse, in war preparations against the U.S.S.R. and the countries of Peoples' Democracy.

Against these alternative prospects—of open reaction under a Tory Government, of open co-operation with reaction under a Labour Government, one *speaking* for the monopoly capitalists, the other always *acting* for them—there come forward the 100 candidates of the Communist Party and the small knot of Labour Independents. Are they ' splitting the Labour vote '? No more than the Labour and Socialist candidates of 40 years ago were ' splitting the progressive vote ', as the Liberals accused them of doing. On the contrary, they are fighting to rally the people's vote for the people's cause, against the twin banner-bearers of British imperialist, aggressive, treacherous monopoly capitalism: the Tory Party and the Labour right-wing leadership.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

That fight should be going on in every constituency, whether there is a Communist or Labour Independent standing or not. Labour candidates—just because of the special rôle the Labour M.P. has to play in the capitalist cause—are particularly sensitive to opinion in the factories, trade union branches, trades councils, co-operative guilds. The vote of 3,600,000 against wage-freeze on January 12—a vote for which the Communist Party alone had been fighting in the unions—shows that even the Transport House forces of darkness are not invincible. Wherever they are standing, the candidates of the Labour Party can and should be forced to come out into the open about the slippery phrases and double-faced promises in their Party's election programme.

But what about the constituencies with the 100 Communist candidates and the Labour Independents? Won't it be 'letting in the Tory' to vote for them? Even if we do realise that the Labour leaders are not reliable, wouldn't it be better to vote for them and so 'make certain'? The answer is that the Labour leaders' record from 1945 to 1950 shows that to vote for their candidates against the Communists *means* letting in the Tories: only letting them in by the back door—through the adoption of a Tory policy by Labour M.P.s—instead of through the front. To vote for a Labour candidate against a Communist or Labour Independent means that you *do* make certain—of a Tory policy applied by Labour leaders. It is programmes, not labels, that count today: and the label 'Labour' attached to a candidate in the General Election of 1950 is no more a guide to his conduct or his allegiance than were the labels 'Radical' or 'Progressive' when the Socialist and Labour candidates were fighting the candidates wearing them before 1914. The election manifesto of the Labour Party is a plain warning to every workman, every working woman, every hardworking teacher, nurse, small farmer, bank clerk, civil servant, that their interests are to be subordinated to those of big monopoly capital: for its very recognition, its very existence ('we have begun to build up a flourishing partnership between Government, management and workers') mean their exploitation. Otherwise it would not exist. To vote Labour against a Communist or Labour Independent in 1950 means to vote for co-operation between exploiter and exploited, robber and robbed. Not Socialism but anti-Socialism is what the Labour candidates in such constituencies stand for today—whatever their personal beliefs—just as the Liberals did forty years ago.

'But if we vote Communist, the social reforms since 1945 will be threatened'. They are already threatened—by the Labour leaders, now that the temporary post-war conditions which allowed them to pass the reforms without making the capitalists pay for them are passing. Who cut down the house-building, the school-building, the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE COUPON CLIPPER.—By Ellis.

From the 'Daily Worker' of New York.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CARTOONS FROM ABROAD

'POLICE; POLICE! TREASON!'

Cartoon by McClintock from the 'Tribune', Australia.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

training of teachers: who torpedoed the health centres and sank them without trace: who has been desperately trying to freeze wages while giving a free hand for profits? Was it the Tories? No, the Labour leaders.

For it must be remembered that every Communist returned to Westminster gives his guarantee that he will stand and speak and vote with Labour M.P.s *whenever they are fighting the battle of the working class in Parliament.* 'How do we know that'? From the records of William Gallacher and Phil Piratin—and of the late Shapurji Saklatvala before them, first champion of the Indian masses in the British House of Commons. From the hatred and venom which both Tories and Labour leaders (and Truman and the Pope) lavish on them. From the election programme of the Communists—'The Socialist Road for Britain'. Let the old-timers in the Labour and Socialist movement read it—the men and women who used to read 'Justice' and the S.D.F. pamphlets, who learned Socialism from Blatchford's *Merrie England* before he became a jingo, and who really meant it when they sang of the Red Flag:

> 'It suits today the weak and base
> Whose minds are fixed on pelf and place,
> To cringe before the rich man's frown
> And haul the sacred emblem down'.

And then let them get up and honestly tell their fellow trade unionists and co-operators, individual members of the Labour Party, election workers and canvassers, whether the Communist Party election programme and manifesto does not ring with the authentic notes of British Socialism—while the Labour Party Manifesto has succeeded only in recapturing the spirit of Asquith at his woolliest, Lloyd George at his trickiest and most perfidious? Let the older miners in those constituencies where Communists are running—after the heavy defeat the mine-workers inflicted on Lawther and his cronies on wage freezing—tell their younger brothers: where do the accents of A. J. Cook and Bob Smillie ring out clearly—in the Communist Party's election manifesto or in that of the Labour Party? And if it is in the first, why must they send the little Lawthers and would-be Lawthers into Parliament, to vote for wage-freeze, and trade-freeze, and equal-pay-freeze, and the freezing of Socialism there, rather than send in those who have always fought the battle of the miners as of all other workers, both British and international?

The hundred Communist candidates open the way to the struggle for real socialism at last. The plea to 'give Labour a chance' which swung the elections of 1923, 1929 and above all of 1945, has had its test—one on a world scale, unmistakable and searching. Let the workers read the lessons of that test. In the programme of the Communists they will find the beginning of a new and decisive page in British working class history.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WAGE FREEZE AND ELECTIONS

HENRY PURCELL

THE alliance formed by the miners, railwaymen and engineers against the wage-freezing policy of the T.U.C. General Council neatly torpedoed a plot by the right-wing trade union leaders to bludgeon rebel unions into acceptance of General Council decisions.

Previously the General Council has always accepted the rule that it cannot interfere with the autonomy of the Unions in matters affecting wages and conditions. That remained the position when wage-freezing was first accepted, but when the General Council went further and in its latest document called on the Unions to accept wage cuts, it became clear that certain unions would never agree. So, on the proposal of Mr. T. Williamson, of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, a clause was inserted in the statement on economic policy declaring that the minority would be expected to accept the majority decision. Sir William Lawther at once rushed in to announce on behalf of the miners that they would accept the conference decision and Mr. Tewson, T.U.C. secretary, to avoid any misunderstanding, called attention to this particular clause in the statement in his covering letter to union executives.

The plot was quite clear. If the General Council, as they confidently expected, had succeeded in obtaining a huge majority for their statement, then any union ignoring the wage freeze would have to be disciplined.

Of course such a procedure would have been completely unconstitutional, but the General Council already has power under rule 13 to suspend unions acting 'contrary to the declared principles and policy of the Congress' and it also has the right to amend its own rules. The right-wing leaders calculated that with the membership in the grip of anti-Communist hysteria, they would be able to secure support for any amount of discipline. Such unions as the Electrical Trades Union and the Foundry Workers, in which branches have the right under rule to overturn Executive Council decisions and in which all leaders are subject to periodic re-election, would be disciplined for refusing to accept 'democratic' decisions carried by the block vote of the Transport Workers which has denied the right of election to its most militant members and of the General Workers, who recently sacked an official who led an official strike!

Sir William Lawther started the campaign with a two-column statement in the *Daily Herald* labelling opponents of the wage-freeze as Communists. Then the miners spoke. The united front of miners, railwaymen, engineers was re-formed. The plot collapsed.

The rank and file of the British trade union movement acted in

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this instance because even loyalty to a Labour government could not persuade them that economic progress depended on wage cuts. But, there is as yet little realisation of the extent of the attack on democratic rights which is being prepared by the right-wing leaders.

An alliance between the government and the official machinery of the trade union movement to enforce cuts in the living standards of the workers is perilously near to a new form of corporate state.

The parallel becomes even more sinister when the situation in the Transport and General Workers' Union is examined. Here you have a union executive threatening to expel members who refuse to accept the anti-Communist purge. This union operates in a number of 'closed shop' industries. The closed shop, when imposed by the massed strength of the workers as a protection against non-unionists, is a progressive weapon. The closed shop used by a reactionary trade union leadership to impose political tests and to force rebels out of employment is nearer to the conception of the fascist Labour Front.

Not one trade unionist in a thousand would willingly agree to such a development. And yet today inroads on democratic freedom are accepted which would have been inconceivable in 1945.

These things have happened as an inevitable corollary to the abandonment of the class struggle by the Social-Democratic leaders of both the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress. Consider this quotation by Denis Healey, international secretary of the Labour Party, in the last issue of *Labour Woman*:

> Whether Americans all realise it or not, the U.S.A. is moving into a period of Social-Democracy based on the Welfare State. Moreover, the Marshall Plan and Truman's Fourth Point programme are socialism on a world scale.

America, which has fettered trade union rights by the Hartley Taft Act; America, which has organised a witch hunt against any elements left of centre with a fury unequalled since Hitler; America, where today the capitalist contradiction of poverty amid plenty is more glaring than ever in history, becomes the model for British leaders who, in their 1945 election manifesto, declared that they were 'socialist and proud of it'! This is where anti-Communism leads. Here is the explanation for the entry of the British T.U.C. into the new Trade Union 'international' which is frankly based on the American Federation of Labour conception that unions exist to support capitalist society and to secure some concessions from its capitalist owners.

'Socialism' without class struggle leads to collaboration and a new form of corporate state.

The phenomenon is not confined to Britain; it has been developing in all English-speaking countries. More than any other factor, it ex-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

plains the defeat of the Labour Party in New Zealand and Australia and pin-points the dilemma which the British Labour Party faces in the General Election.

Labour held power in New Zealand for fourteen years. During that time it carried through various important measures of social reform and imposed some degree of control on the banks and other capitalist organisations. With the general rise in the prices of primary commodities, New Zealand capitalism has been able, temporarily, to provide better living standards. But no single concession has been secured through the transfer of economic power from the exploiters to the exploited. When slump again strikes the capitalist world, New Zealand, like every other capitalist country, will solve its problems at the expense of the workers.

Because they denied the class struggle, the leaders of the New Zealand Labour Party found themselves in a gradually intensifying conflict with the militant trade unions on the one hand, while on the other hand their policy was leading to the elimination of competition, the creation of employers' organisations and a consequent strengthening of capitalist monopoly. During 1949, the conflict with the unions came to a head over the demand of the carpenters for higher wages. This particular union, which has Communists in its leadership, had been a thorn in the side of the Labour government because it had consistently pressed for the taking over of the whole building industry. McLagan, Minister of Labour, removed the union from the recognised register of trade unions, thus depriving it of the privileges accorded to trade unions by law, and set about forming a break-away anti-Communist rival union. The Trades Councils in Auckland, Dunedin and Christchurch came out in support of the carpenters and refused to recognise the break-away. A similar conflict broke out with the wharf labourers (the dockers) and two of their Left-wing leaders, Barnes and Hill, were removed from the Commission responsible for deciding wages and conditions.

These clashes with the unions grew out of the New Zealand Labour Party's policy of building up a form of corporate state, with government registration of the unions, compulsory arbitration and a compulsory membership of trade unionism inspired by government decree and not by the massed strength of the workers.

The counterpart of this policy in the political field drew New Zealand into the anti-Soviet alliance. This led to the drive against the Communists, the banning of the Friends of the Soviet Union organisation, and the adoption of conscription. The conscription issue alienated many of the most active Labour supporters, among them John Robert, President of the Christchurch Labour Party, who resigned his post in protest. Thus the Labour Party in New Zealand entered the election with its forces divided and with none of the enthusiasm which a working class party must have if it is to mobilise

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the support of the masses. The Tories did not win over the working class. The Labour leaders lost its enthusiastic support and that was enough to turn the election.

The picture from Australia is very much the same. There, the clash with the miners and the struggle of the Labour leadership with the Communists was even fiercer. The Labour government used the authority of the State to attack trade union funds and to imprison union leaders. The division of the working class reached the point which it has already reached in France of Socialists advising electors to cast their second vote for the capitalist parties rather than support the Communists. Significantly it was in the industrial areas of New South Wales and Queensland that the Labour Party suffered its heaviest losses.

A Party which claims to be socialist and yet fails to see socialism as a struggle for economic power must end by collaborating with the capitalists and losing the confidence of the workers. Food Minister John Strachey ought to know for he put the point clearly enough in his book, 'What are we to do?' published in 1938. He wrote this of Fabianism, which is the political basis of British Social-Democracy:

> Fabian theory stands or falls by the proposition that the granting of the vote and other democratic rights to the wage earners of a capitalist society fundamentally alters the nature of that society. It rests in particular on the view that democratic institutions change the nature of the State, converting it from being a coercive instrument of the governing capitalist class into a neutral independent mechanism equally accessible to and usable by all. . . The repudiation of the class struggle must involve, as the Fabians saw, the repudiation not merely of revolutionary action in any circumstances, but also and even the attempt of the wage earners to use their constitutional right under a democracy to pass a series of laws which would amount to the expropriation of the capitalists. . . The real issue is inescapably this: Do you accept the political and industrial struggle of the organised labour movement as the only possible force which can lead the community out of capitalism into socialism? Or do you hope with the Fabians to persuade the capitalists themselves into abolishing capitalism?

The pattern of Social-Democracy in New Zealand, Australia and Britain is a pattern of Fabianism. Nationalisation has meant no more than the transfer of capitalist industries to the control of the capitalist state. The Boards administering these industries in Britain are drawn in the main from the same capitalists who administered them in the period when they were under private control. The trade union leaders who have been given a minority representation on the Boards have already shown themselves, in the case of the State railways and State electricity, to be even fiercer in resisting the demands of the workers than their predecessors. And when they resist workers' demands they have not the same fear as the capitalists of losing profits for the burden falls not on private investors but on the State.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This conception of the State as something apart from the class struggle has led in Britain to such fantasies as the appointment of Sir Graham Cunningham to the government-sponsored dollar export boards at a time when his name was prominently associated with Aims of Industry, the capitalist organisation pledged to the destruction of the Labour government. It leads to the acceptance by a Labour government of the principle that its advisers in financial, economic and diplomatic matters should be the same officials as served previous Conservative governments. It places a Labour government based on a Labour Party which, in turn, was created by the trade unions, in the position not of an ally of the working class but of an organisation which 'holds the ring' between workers and employers.

In such a situation the virtual coalition between employers and trade union leaders no longer seems surprising. The Federation of British Industries and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress reach agreement on the need for freezing wages even though prices rise. They say, in other words, what Baldwin said when, to meet another capitalist slump, he told the T.U.C.: 'Every worker must be prepared to take a cut in wages'. They see the supreme function of the government, the employers and the union leaders as the pushing up of capitalist production, irrespective of who secures the benefit. In a period of capitalist boom, such as has been created since the war by the sellers' market in almost every country, capitalism organised in this way can afford to make some concessions to the workers. It can provide children's allowances, a universal health service, improved pensions for the aged and even concessions for the unemployed. Controls over export of capital and on the use of raw materials can give some measure of planning to the national economy and ensure a high level of employment. But none of these things alters the fundamental basis on which capitalism rests.

The Welfare State as it has been created by Social-Democracy is a child of the capitalist system and it will be the first victim when capitalism is in difficulties.

The rank and file of the Labour movement in Britain, as in New Zealand and Australia, is beginning to understand these contradictions. The average rank and file trade unionist may not yet appreciate the theoretical arguments, but he knows there is a class struggle because he wages it in his day to day life and he understands that a trade union leadership which accepts wage freezing and collaboration with the employers is not fighting for his wellbeing. He understands, too, that 'nationalisation', which leaves the same people in control and guarantees high dividends to former shareholders, is not the 'socialism' for which he has lived and worked. In Britain he still supports the Labour government because he fears the naked

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reaction of the Tories. But the enthusiasm which swept the Labour Party to power in 1945 is missing.

That is the immediate lesson for British Labour from the defeats in New Zealand and Australia. The other lessons, which come from the experience of Fabianism in action, will be learned when capitalist slump spreads from Truman's 'socialist' America to the other countries which today have abandoned their national independence for American dollars.

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

'FREEDOM' AND 'DEMOCRACY' IN ESTHONIA

. . . Esthonia represents another aspect of the process of Restoration. Six months ago Esthonia was travelling towards closer relations with the Soviet, and the old counter-revolutionary rigour had diminished. Then a change took place. A Communist round-up was carried through (in Esthonia the working class, organised in the trade unions, is Communist), 149 were arrested and put on 'trial', and the character of the trial was revealed by the fact that when one of the accused, a Communist deputy, protested in a single sentence against the character of the Court, he was on the spot taken outside and shot for 'contempt of court'. This provocation succeeded in driving several hundred Esthonian workers to a desperate revolt, practically without arms and quelled in a few hours. The excuse was now established for an immediate military dictatorship, mass executions, arrests and imprisonments. The régime that has been established has been faithfully described by Miss Susan Lawrence in the *Daily Herald* (Miss Susan Lawrence did not add, however, that the Esthonian Social-Democrats, section of the Second International, are Coalition members of the Government of White Terror responsible). What is behind all this? Two facts may be quoted. (1) According to a written answer of the Board of Trade, the following arms have been exported from Britain to Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia and Poland between May, 1923, and October, 1924; 7,000,000 loaded cartridges, 339 machine guns, 35,000 military rifles and 19,640 swords, bayonets, etc. (2) The *Matin*, of December 30, declares:

> 'The British diplomatic representatives are not idle. They are causing the Bolsheviks to be expelled from Albania, at the same time they are inspiring in Jugoslavia a policy of violent repression against the Croat Peasants' Party. . . England will certainly achieve its aims, which are to create a solid anti-Soviet barrier from the Black Sea to Poland. The British Legations have been equally busy in uniting the Baltic States. It is clear to all that small states such as Esthonia and Latvia would never dare to proceed to the mass executions of Russian propagandists if they did not feel themselves sustained by British promises and British squadrons'.

This is another side of Restoration—complete even to the rôle of Social-Democracy.

NOTES OF THE MONTH, by R.P.D., February, 1925.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FRENCH PEOPLE IN ACTION AGAINST WAR

JOANNY BERLIOZ

(*Conseiller de la République*)

THE spell of life of this French Government, which is shaky and has lost its authority, is hanging under a daily threat; for the general discontent throughout the country exerts an increasing pressure on the Parliamentary groups that have been its most faithful supporters.

The root cause is undoubtedly the disillusionment of the country over the results of the American orientation of France. Many who, under the influence of the loudly-clamoured hosannas of the leaders of the right wing Social-Democrats, had put their trust in the 'generous aid' of the United States, now see the reality of the Marshall Plan and its consequences: total or partial closing down of big plants (aviation, tractor, foot-wear, etc.); public expenditure swollen to half as much again (2,300 milliards of francs against 1,150 milliards in 1947); fall in the purchasing power of the people.

This disillusionment has grown greater recently as the American intentions have become more precise—intentions 'to organise' Europe economically by the declared means of 'freeing exchange' and by aligning France with a Western Germany restored to a position of being the dominant industrial power on the Continent.

The aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism has forced the Wall Street financiers into such a brutal disclosure of their 'European' schemes that many a Frenchman hitherto misled by the Marshall Plan now begins to open his eyes and to go against the colonisation of his country, and that through the agency of a Germany so like that of ten years ago and so menacing to our security.

It is precisely the German problem which weighs most heavily on France's political life, owing to the prospects which the instigators of a new World War have in mind. At the beginning of December many full-length debates took place on this question in both chambers of our Parliament. Even those speakers who had shown themselves the most devoted to the American cause expressed grave hesitation, lively fears—indicative of the deep concern felt by the majority of the population. When it came to the vote of confidence in the Government—only the Communists and a few isolated groups coming out against it—this was nevertheless restricted by all sorts of reservations and suggestions of mistrust, notably in regard to vigilance over Germany's industrial potential, and above all on the prohibition of the re-militarisation of this puppet State at Bonn.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nobody believes that the Minister for Foreign Affairs is sincere when he says that the re-armament of Tri-Zonia was not on the agenda of the joint military conference last November. Was it not the case that the actual number of German divisions to be supplied was discussed there—12 or 25? The remonstrances by the Allied High Commissioners to Adenauer on the lack of wisdom in his statements, the subsequent denials, were weighed at their true value by *Le Monde* in these terms:—'The little game which the statesmen go on playing has a pharisaical character which lacks even the merit of deceiving anybody'! Nobody is deceived any more, in fact, even by the reassuring game of Citizen Léon Blum, who 'can well conceive of a German military force which might be at the service of Western Union', and it is evident that the exposure of the French Government's German policy has largely contributed to making people even more clearly aware of the aims of the World War Camp.

It is the same with the Budget debates. In vain the representatives of the majority, or of the fake opposition, in their demagogic search for massive economies, keep on trying to maintain a conspiracy of silence on the outstanding fact, namely, that the heavy burden of the Budget is due to the crushing proportion of military expenditure in it (420 milliards admitted, in reality about 600 milliards, taking into account the concealed expenses, i.e. considerably more than double the payments under the Marshall Plan). The insistence of the Communist deputies in spot-lighting these facts eventually brought the truth to the deafest ears.

The truth is that there is no way to rebuild the country and to ease the situation of the toiling masses when the resources of the nation are consecrated to the work of death. The truth is that these exorbitant sums will in no way serve to organise any army corresponding to the real needs of national defence, but a military apparatus subordinated to the plans of the Americans. The truth is given by General Joinville (of the Resistance) when he said that this formidable Budget '*represents nothing more than the French contribution to the War Budget of the United States*'.

All this helps forward the propaganda of the Partisans of Peace, strengthens unity against war preparations; all this explains the real difficulties of a Government which, while it may just manage to get votes of confidence out of the National Assembly (but only just, and that after shameless crimping and pimping for votes) does not enjoy the confidence of a people that is ever more alive to the dangers that threaten it, and whose understanding of international events is going ahead in a way to gladden the heart.

However, no one can be satisfied with progress so far. While unity

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and action are developing in the various sections of the population, while every form of popular movement challenges the Government's policy and increases the contradictions among its own supporters, American pressure makes itself more brutally felt, to force the pace and throw France upon the bloody road of war before the counter-thrust of the forces of peace can become fully effective.

But we have not yet paid enough heed to the fact that France is already *engaged in a small war,* now raging in Viet Nam for three years. This war (for the benefit of the Anglo-Saxon Imperialists as much as for that of the French colonial exploiters in their greed to reconquer their privileges) is very costly. At least 120 milliards of francs have been allotted to it this year. It is carried out by an Expeditionary Corps of 120,000 men, of whom 25,000 at the lowest estimate are ex-soldiers of Hitler's Army, S.S. troops enrolled in the French Foreign Legion. This war has already resulted in tens of thousands of casualties in dead, wounded and stricken from diseases due to the tropical climate.

This war, born of deliberate provocation carried out against a people of 27 millions who demand no more than their national independence, within the French Union, is fundamentally unjust.

But the war has taken on a new character since the liberation of China which terrifies the capitalist world whose sphere of action is being continually reduced. In the plans of the Americans, Indo-China has to be one of the main links in the chain of imperialist defence against 'Asiatic Communism'. The visits of Anglo-American generals and admirals to Saigon, and of the British High Commissioner MacDonald, and of Jessup, the representative of the State Department, were aimed at establishing a strategy—now so badly bungled by their puppet Chiang Kai-shek. Some of his bands found refuge and protection in Viet Nam. Frontier incidents intended to provoke trouble are being organised on the border between China and Tonking. A cockpit is being set up there for the future world war.

All these are the reasons why the defenders of peace in France should not content themselves with a general anti-war agitation, however intense and well-received: and efforts have been made to warn the people against the 'vile war'. *Jeunesse Républicaine de France* has participated widely in these efforts, by street demonstrations in Paris, distribution of leaflets to conscripts, the recent establishment of an association of people repatriated from Indo-China. But this work has not been sufficiently maintained, doubtless because of the lingering effect upon many minds of that systematic colonialist education which exalts the 'civilising' role of the oppressors. Only the dockers of Dunkirk and Algiers—and now of

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Marseilles—have at times been able to stop the loading of naval supplies for Indo-China.

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party at its meeting on 10th December, came to the conclusion that it was high time *to go on from propaganda against war to concrete action against it*. They denounced the opportunist deviations whose outcome was seen in the weakness of mass action against the production, transport and handling of war material, and in particular of materials destined for the unjust war against Viet Nam. Earlier, on 18th November, the National Committee of the C.G.T. had unanimously passed a resolution calling on the working class as a whole ' to follow the example of the dockers and carry on an active struggle against the criminal war in Viet Nam and against the preparation of war upon the Soviet Union '. It noted that the practical problem of the struggle against war was not only the job of those who loaded material but also and in the first instance of those who produced it or transported it in France, that is to say, engineers and railwaymen.

The improvement has begun. Dockers and sailors at all the ports, the railwayworkers' organisations, the engineers' unions, have all taken decisions on the same lines. In many workshops workers have effectively stopped the production of war material, going as far as striking in order to obtain their demands. Thus, to give only one example, the boilermakers of the big firm Fives-Lille have refused to do the riveting on an engine destined for Indo-China. The militants and the unions' newspapers recall the magnificent fighting traditions of the French proletariat against colonial adventures and against militarism. They call for the revival of these traditions but in a better way; that is to say that the reactions of active minorities of the time of anarcho-syndicalism should be transformed into the task of work in common with the population so as to create *the political conditions for mass refusal* to produce and export for war.

It needs to be done fast, for soon shiploads of American munitions, the latest form of ' the generous aid ' of the Washington philanthropists, are due to arrive in French ports: to handle this material would be directly against the interests of the French working class. Benoit Frachon, General Secretary of the C.G.T., has declared forcibly: ' The working class cannot content itself with a protest in words . . . *it must act in harmony with its decisions* and say " No " to war by its deeds, and always ', he adds, ' with a readiness to make every sacrifice '. The dockers of Saint Nazaire, in spite of the pressure of the Socialist Mayor of the town, have already declared that they would prefer unemployment and hunger to working for the defence of the League of the Elbe.

It is against this background of sharp action in the struggle

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against war that we should view the document published at the end of the year by the C.G.T. on the Yellow International set up in November in London on the orders of the agents of the State Department who head the A.F.L. and the C.I.O.

In vigorous terms this document brands the grisly operation by these Deakins, Tewsons, Greens, Careys, Kupers and Company, who leapt to obey the wishes of the war-mongers and disinterred the corpse of the old International Federation of Trade Unions, whose collapse in 1914 and in 1933 contributed not a little to throw workers into the horrors of war. The task of the yellow leaders, says the C.G.T., is to propagate throughout the world disruptive action against the forces of peace and get the workers to accept a war against the Soviet Union. The World Federation of Trade Unions, by making the unity of the workers into a reality and by organising a resolute defence of the exploited, has given sleepless nights to the war-mongers. The latter have therefore entrusted some of those who have done well out of the working class movement with the splitters' task which, as the experience of history has shown, makes easier the drive to war. They have tried to accomplish it in the name of 'liberty', the liberty to bind themselves to their respective governments. At great pains they have established the International of the Atlantic Pact, in order to adorn the Atlantic Pact with their bedraggled 'union banners'.

Those of their kind in France represent scarcely anybody in spite of the enormous quantities of dollars and various rewards for the services of the breakaway trade unionists of December, 1947, from whom the proletarian masses have turned away in disgust. We know that the leaders of the Yellow International wish to redouble their efforts and their money in order to try to paralyse the effective struggle of the French workers against the war in Viet Nam and against the preparations for an anti-Soviet war. 'Their objective', says the C.G.T., 'must be vigorously denounced as a part of our struggle for peace'.

We cannot believe that the British working class, which also has a record of splendid victorious struggle against anti-Soviet intervention of the British Government in 1920, a working class which passionately desires peace too, will allow the T.U.C. clique of wage-freezers to become part-and-parcel in any sabotage of the vigorous action against war which the French workers have undertaken. The solidarity and common interest between the friends of peace on both sides of the Channel must on the contrary strengthen the bonds between them against the criminal policy of the State Department.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TIBET

ARTHUR CLEGG

TIBET, the land of Shangri-la, of peaceful valleys shut off from the world where live venerable abbots steeped in the wisdom of the ages, does not exist. Tibet is a country of serfs, of poverty and illiteracy.

Almost all the cultivated land and much of the pastoral land is owned by a handful of great feudal families whose castles dominate the valleys. Even the flocks and herds of the once independent nomads are now, as often as not, owned by some feudal lord, and the nomads themselves are little better than herdsmen.

The serfs are tied to the land and may not leave without their lord's permission and the payment of a large fine. To their lord they owe labour services, rent in kind and often a money rent as well.

In the past their one escape, which was available only to some, was into the sterility of a Buddhist monastery. Now the approach of the Chinese Liberation Army opens to all a far more fruitful solution to their problems.

Most Tibetans are Buddhist by religion and monasteries are scattered throughout the land. Many Tibetans regard the Panchen (or Tashi) Lama as the spiritual head of their church. The present Panchen Lama, who has been forbidden entry into Tibet by the Dalai Lama, has declared his support for the People's Republic of China.

Many Buddhist monasteries are large landowners, their property under control of their wealthy abbots. Political head of the Buddhist Church is the Dalai Lama who rules Tibet autocratically, advised by a council of landlords and abbots.

Tibet is a land of mountains, but it is not geographically isolated. Two main roads run into the country from other parts of China, the northern one from Sinkiang, the southern one from Szechuan. Two main roads run out to India, the northern one to Kashmir, the southern one through Sikkim to Darjeeling which, a hundred years ago, was a Tibetan town.

The reputation for isolation that still clings around Tibet results from the 19th century political policy which was adopted with Chinese consent and approval as a defence against the grasping hands of the British in India. It was an isolation from Europeans alone. For nearly a century it worked with fair success. Then, suddenly, it failed.

Since the Younghusband invasion and the Anglo-Tibetan war of 1903/4, Tibet has been far from isolated. It has been a British colony, with a British mission in Lhasa, with telegraphic connections with India, with an army British-equipped and officered by British

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trained men, and with its landlord families economically linked to British trading and financial interests in India.

Attempts to wrest Tibet completely from China have never quite come off but, in substance, Tibet has been under the same alien domination as India.

Tibet's history as an independent country ends with the Mongol conquest of the 13th century and its attachment by them to China. The Mongols also encouraged the growth of Buddhism. 'Dalai' Lama is itself a Mongol title. When, in 1640, the Eleut section of the Mongols made themselves dominant in Tibet, they set up the Dalai Lama régime as the government.

From then on, with the unification of China under the Manchus. Chinese influence in Tibet increased. Early in the 18th century Chinese representatives, known as Ambans, were established in Lhasa. In 1774 and again in 1783 the East India Company government in India tried to penetrate Tibet. In 1788 the Brahmin rulers of Nepal invaded the country bent on conquest. They were defeated by a joint force of Chinese and Tibetans. It was clear to the Tibetans that they were now to be exposed to all kinds of new pressures. They turned to China for protection, agreed to close their frontiers, and in future to allow all foreign questions to be dealt with by the Ambans.

Despite four small invasions from various hill peoples of India. Tibet from then on enjoyed over a century of peace. In the latter part of the 19th century, however, British pressure on the country was increasing. From 1863 onwards the British government in India sent up trained agents, Indian and British, to spy out and survey the country bit by bit. Two portions of Tibetan territory, Sikkim and Bhutan (Bhutan is merely another way of writing Tibet), were wrested away.

The Tibetan army was driven from Sikkim in 1888 by British forces, and though in 1890 the Manchu Government acquiesced in this conquest, the Tibetan Government did not. In 1893 a British political officer was imposed on Sikkim and, the local Tibetan governor not agreeing, he was arrested and spent the rest of his life in a British prison. Bhutan had been first invaded by British forces in 1865. From then on the political power of the local lamas was gradually diminished until towards the end of the century a British-backed feudal lord finally displaced the lama rulers and made himself Maharaja. Advantage was taken of the 1911 Revolution in China to declare Bhutan 'independent'.

By the end of the 19th century it was plain to British officials, merchants and missionaries in both India and China that the Manchu government in Peking was now no longer in a position to protect the Tibetans. Voices were therefore increasingly raised demanding that British control of Tibet be established. Further incen-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tive was given to these demands by the obstinate wish of the Tibetans to remain isolated from the British in India and their refusal to recognise the British conquests of their border territories. The survey work done by spies had ensured that the best military routes to Lhasa were now mapped. The British invasion under Colonel Younghusband was determined on, and in 1904 Younghusband arrived in Lhasa, after defeating the Tibetan Army, to find that the Dalai Lama and all responsible officials had fled.

To an unresourceful man this fact could have been embarrassing, since Younghusband had been ordered to compel the Tibetans to sign a treaty or convention. Younghusband, however, was apparently unworried by the fact that there was no one with whom he could deal, but proceeded to dictate his terms and to get some Tibetan signatures, no matter what their value.

By this 'Convention' Tibet was to undertake to remove all armaments and forts which might impede free communication between the British Indian frontier and Lhasa, not to cede any Tibetan territory to a foreign power other than Britain, not to admit the representatives of any foreign power other than Britain, and not to grant concessions to a foreign power without British permission.

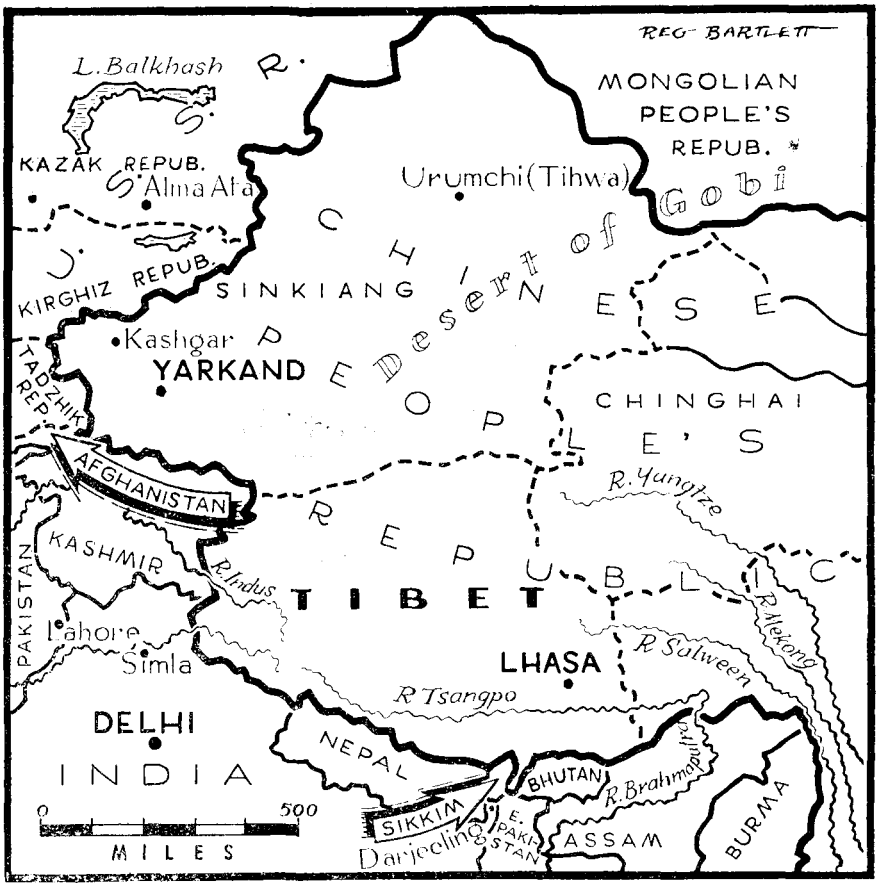
(It is this 'Convention' which some international jokers are now demanding that the People's Republic of China shall recognise. *The Times*, for example, declared on October 3, 'The position of Tibet is regulated by treaties; if these are violated, no confidence can be put in Communist China's attitude towards other international obligations'.)*

On his return to Tibet, however, the Dalai Lama acquiesced in the results of the British conquest and, since those days, the Dalai Lama régime has been mainly concerned, not with Tibetan affairs, but with the preservation of British domination. The Dalai Lama has, in fact, been a British puppet.

With the 1911 Revolution in China, the Dalai Lama, then in India, prepared, with the assistance of the British political officer in Sikkim, a plan for Tibetan 'independence'. But Whitehall thought the move untimely. Instead, in 1914, the British Foreign Office drew up a new 'Convention' which, while acknowledging Chinese sovereignty over Tibet, sought to preserve Western Tibet as an autonomous area' under British control. The Dalai Lama, still in

*The 'Convention' was first worded so as to exclude the Chinese Government, too, from Tibet as a 'foreign goverment'. In response to Chinese protests, however, the British Government in 1906 agreed that the 'Convention' did not apply to China. In 1907 a Convention was signed between the British and Tsarist Governments whereby both Powers recognised Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. The British Government has, I believe, never denounced this agreement.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



British hands, was induced to sign this cynical document, but no Chinese Government, no matter how feeble, has ever been willing to agree to it. Undeterred by the weakness of the legal position, Tibetans were recruited into the British forces in the first World War and sons of Tibetan feudal lords entered British schools.

Today, with another and more splendid Revolution in China, the present Dalai Lama, and the Regent of Tibet who is ruling during the minority of the Dalai Lama, like their predecessor of 1911, are being drawn into intrigues to declare Tibet 'independent' and 'neutral' in order to preserve it as a colony. And, it having suddenly been considered monstrous that Lhasa, alone of world capitals, is without electric light, British and American firms have been given a contract to build a power station near the city. Once again, the political officer in Sikkim who exercises authority over the Indian Mission at Lhasa has been reported to be busy on various plans.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Meanwhile, American journalists have been encouraging the Regent of Tibet and the Dalai Lama to make public appeals for American support. Lowell Thomas, of the Columbia Broadcasting System, stated in New York on October 17, 1949, on his return from his trip to Tibet: 'What the rulers of Tibet want to know is whether they can get help from the United States now, or in the event of a Communist invasion. If they can get help they want two things—advisers on guerilla warfare and more modern weapons'. Lowell Thomas declared that he was carrying messages from both the Regent and the Dalai Lama to President Truman.

A week later, on October 25, the Washington correspondent of the *New York Times* responded: 'Recognition of Tibet as a free and independent country is a possibility that the State Department is considering. . . Recognition of Tibet as a separate country would make it possible for this country to make available some of its funds to help friendly foreign countries arm themselves against Communism'. In January, 1950, it was announced in Lhasa that, for the first time, the puppet Dalai Lama régime would send emissaries abroad to the U.S.A., Britain, and India. The question of how to frustrate Tibet's liberation was further discussed at the British Empire Conference in Colombo.

But the Tibetan serfs and herdsmen and common lamas are not altogether ignorant of world affairs. Groups of Mongols are found in most parts of Tibet, especially in and around Lhasa, who have always maintained links with Mongols elsewhere. The Tibetan people also live in the Chinese provinces of Szechuan, Kansu, Chinghai and Sikang and form the major part of the population of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. They desire land no less than the peasants of their brother Han people of China. More than a year ago the Regent of Tibet found it necessary to launch a campaign to stamp out Communist ideas which had, he said, penetrated even into the precincts of the Buddhist Lamaseries themselves.

Nor is the Chinese Communist Party ignorant of Tibetan affairs. During the Long March the army led by Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao marched through the Tibetan-inhabited parts of Szechuan, and the armies led by Chu Teh and Ho Lung penetrated even deeper into Tibetan inhabited areas. Then they met with hostility, but many of the guides whom they took at that time, because of good treatment received, stayed on with the People's Army and entered its school in Yenan.

In the past the people of Tibet, conscious of social changes elsewhere, yet lacked any political organisation of their own to which they could look for guidance. Now they have formed one. In the famous Buddhist monastery of Labrang in Kansu, since last September, representatives of Tibetan tribes, mostly from East Tibet, but

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

also from as far away as Lhasa, have been gathering to discuss the liberation of their country. Representatives of Tibet, present at the People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking, participated in the declaration of the People's Republic of China and in the drawing up of its common programme which stated:

'The People's Republic of China is a New Democratic State, that is, a People's Democracy. This Republic realises the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class, based on the alliance of workers and peasants and rallying all democratic classes and all nationalities in China. . . The Central People's Government . . . must . . . liberate all the territory of China and accomplish the task of unifying China. . . All nationalities in the People's Republic of China have the same rights and duties'.

By this Programme the people of Tibet, as other peoples of China, gain the right to elect and to be elected, to freedom of thought, speech, publication, association, religious belief, to peasant land ownership, industrial development and many other things. This programme, which, unlike the programme of the 1911 revolution, has been drawn up with Tibetan participation, is now being distributed in Tibet.

The liberation of Tibet by the Tibetans, in association with the Han and other peoples of China, has begun.

China's liberty will reach to the frontiers of India, and nothing can prevent it doing so. No wonder the prospect brings convulsions in Washington, fits in London and apoplexy in Delhi.

Diplomats may fulminate about international law. By any and every international law Tibet is part of China, as was recognised by the British Foreign Minister in a letter to the Chinese Government in 1945. Yet by what international law did Sikkim and Bhutan appear as 'independent' states on British maps?

To preserve the domination of Britain and the rule of the Tibetan aristocrats, the Dalai Lama has appealed to Truman for aid. Yet how can intervention in Tibet take place save by using India as a base? And does President Truman seriously want a Chinese Liberation Army marching into India to put a stop to foreign interference in Chinese internal affairs?

Wall Street has already lost $6,000 million through intervention in China. Is one lesson not enough? The cost of a second adventure might be even more expensive.

It seems the imperialists would be well advised to let the Tibetan people, along with their brothers the Han people and the other nationalities of China, settle their own affairs, accomplish their own liberation and deal with their own landlords and imperialists agents as they think best.

Either way Tibet will be liberated.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Book Reviews

ELECTION WEAPON

Britain's Crisis of Empire. By R. Palme Dutt. (pp. 168. Lawrence and Wishart, 7*s.* 6*d.* cloth, 4*s.* 6*d.* paper.)

LONG ago all serious minded persons in the Labour Movement learned to understand that whatever their political outlook may be, any book written by R. Palme Dutt was a political event of first rate importance.

Every book he has written has left its mark on the thought and activity of the Movement, but I believe in his latest book, *Britain's Crisis of Empire*, he has surpassed himself.

At a moment when the whole reactionary capitalist and Social-Democratic leaders are desperately looking for new colonial empires to conquer, at the time when their grip has been loosened on their former Empires; when the rapacious and bloody repressive policy of imperialism is disguised under the most high sounding phrases, Dutt has mercilessly torn aside all the hypocritical veils even though they number more than seven, and has exposed in my opinion, as never before, all that imperialism and Empire mean in their grim and dreadful reality.

If ever a spade was called a spade and not an agricultural implement, it is in this book. When all the fancy catchwords of 'Commonwealth', 'Trusteeship', 'New Socialist Colonial Policy', 'Guiding the footsteps of Backward Peoples towards Social Progress', are the political currency of exploiters, robbers and imperialist and Social-Democratic bandits, Dutt shows them all up for what they are, the most shameful, brutal, callous and disgusting gang of oppressors and murderers that have ever shamed the pages of world history.

It will make the blood of every decent and really social minded citizen tingle with shame, but it will do more—it will make them want to do something about it, that is, if they are really sincere and politically honest.

I know it made me think how little we fight for our comrades, our brothers and sisters of the lands held down by all the terribly repressive apparatus of imperialism, how easily we salve our consciences by addressing a meeting or passing a resolution, how little we realise as yet that our own path to freedom and to social emancipation is bound up with helping our comrades in the colonial countries to obtain theirs.

Consider the scope of the book as indicated by its contents:

A Note on 'Empire' and 'Commonwealth'; Crisis of Empire; Britain and Empire; Price of Empire; Crisis of the Colonial System; Crisis of 'Western Civilisation'; America takes over the British Empire; The New American Empire; New Tactics of Imperialism—India; New Dreams of Empire—Africa; Myths of Colonial Development; Empire means War; Empire War Plans; Labour Imperialism; Arguments of Empire; The Path of Colonial Liberation; The Soviet Union and Colonial Liberation; The Liberation of Britain.

At once you realise that every aspect of the ground has been covered, and covered with facts, figures, arguments and quotations all brought together in a masterly Marxist and scholarly style that cannot be refuted.

The book is a challenge to the Tory, Liberal and Labour leaderships. Let them set their back room boys to try and answer the book. Let the Fabians bring out their Ritas, Transport House its Healeys, the Tories their Edens and the Liberals their Clement Davies of Unilever fame to answer the political line of this book. They cannot do it.

Dutt lays down three fundamental points in this book. First:

> The essence of the imperialist colonial system lies first in the economic exploitation of the colonial country, its resources and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man-power, in the interests of the imperialist power; second, in the strategic domination of the country and its absorption in the imperialist bloc on the world scale; and third, in the maintenance of a political system capable of fulfilling these aims in the interests of the imperialist power.

Second proposition:

The conclusion is inescapable. The new tactics of imperialism in decline, demonstrated in the partition of the new dominions of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, and in the Treaty with Burma, have not brought freedom to these countries. They are still held as satellite countries in the camp of imperialism. The yoke of imperialist exploitation still lies heavily upon these peoples alongside the yoke of their own exploiters acting in association with imperialism. The fight for real liberation has still to be won, and the fight is going forward today.

Third proposition:

The time has come when the great alternative has to be faced. Britain must either break with imperialism or go under. The ending of foreign domination and military interventionist adventures is not only indispensable in the interests of world democracy and peace of the colonial peoples struggling for freedom. It is equally the life and death need of the British people, if they are to solve their problems at home and advance to Socialism.

I challenge all the flash political commentators, the boys who know it all, those whose special study is to malign the Communists. You know them, the Bartletts, the Cummings, the Coles, the Kingsley Martins, the very clever ladies and gentlemen of the *Tribune*, the Scrutators, the Students of Politics, the Diplomatic Correspondents of *The Times*, the *Telegraph*, the *Manchester Guardian*. Now's your chance. Get your truth with this book. Answer Dutt. But it cannot be done.

Every reader of the *Labour Monthly* must secure a copy of this book, should agitate for it to be possible to obtain it in every Public Library. Every Colonial student studying in Britain needs this book as he needs no other.

Two important current political events also give added importance to this book, quite apart from the role it will play in the General Election campaign. First the Ceylon Conference, whose conclusions will only serve to prove the correctness of Dutt's whole line of argument, and second, to those who may be inclined to think in his exposures of America's designs on the British Empire that Dutt has put the paint on a bit too thick, the statement of Lord Trefgarne, Chairman of the British Colonial Corporation, in explaining why the Corporation had turned down a loan from the American-dominated International Bank.

> The noble Lord stated: 'Because they would not tolerate the intrusion into the affairs of the Colonial Development Corporation that would be involved under the normal loan contract of the International Bank' . . . Asked why other borrowers from the International Bank had accepted the conditions which the Corporation had refused, Lord Trefgarne said, 'The only question put by most other borrowers from the bank was "Where do I sign?"' (*News Chronicle*, 3.1.50.)

No wonder *The Times* in its issue of that date wept tears of blood over this turn of events in the alleged idyllic relations of British and American imperialism. No wonder that in England's green and pleasant land, where freedom of thought and speech is the order of the day and when never a day passes but that some well paid hack in the capitalist press bemoans the lack of freedom in the Soviet Union and countries of Peoples' Democracies, the capitalist publishers would not touch Dutt's book with a barge-pole. Never was

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there a more serious contribution to modern thought and modern problems: but it was returned to Dutt by the publishers to whom it was offered. They thought it was more than their business houses dare risk, and perhaps that is why it should be our duty to see that it is made known far and wide.

HARRY POLLITT.

WILLIAM RUST'S LAST BOOK

The Story of the Daily Worker. By William Rust, completed by G. Allen Hutt. (pp. 128. People's Press Printing Society, 2*s.* 6*d.* Cloth, with additional photographs, 6*s.*)

'ON December 31st, 1929, eight men gathered in an old warehouse', with practically no journalistic experience, to produce the first copy of the *Daily Worker* on January 1st, 1930. On November 1st, 1946, a new *Daily Worker* appeared and the first copies were presented to an enormous and enthusiastic crowd and auctioned for £45 apiece! These two items appear in Chapter One and at the end of Chapter Ten respectively of the 'Story of the *Daily Worker*' by William Rust, and the intervening chapters are packed with fascinating material and episodes.

This 'Story' is not only a story of the birth, growth and influence of the *Daily Worker*: it is also a short, concise and remarkably readable history of political and economic events during the nineteen years of blood, sweat, tears and victory connected with the publication of the *Daily Worker.*

This 'Story' is also a magnificent story of sacrifice, devotion, courage, ability, persecution, prosecution, jailing, banning, bombing, recovery and of final emergence into 'an exceptional combination of brightness, sobriety and readability . . . a newspaper with a mission; and no one can complain that it does not carry out that mission to the best technical advantage' (such is the compliment paid by the leading trade weekly, the *Newspaper World*).

With undue modesty the authors have apparently skipped the human and personal side, no doubt, in order that full political significance can be presented to the readers. This is to my mind a pity, because there must be a glorious and fascinating story to tell of the struggles, especially of the earlier and inexperienced staff, from doorkeepers to the editors, to get the 'Daily' out.

Politically this 'Story' is invaluable to all who are engaged in or take an active interest in the Labour Movement in this country. For it serves as a great mental refresher of the major political and economic events of the past 19 years and the part the *Daily Worker* played in those hectic political days.

Space will not permit a lengthy review of this excellent, concise review of events covering some 130 pages. One important quotation must therefore suffice. The first number contained a message from the Presidium of the Communist International which described the *Daily Worker* as 'the standard for rallying the working class for the counter-offensive against capitalist rationalisation, it will be the rallying point for the fight against speeding up, wage cuts, overtime and unemployment; against the suppression of strikes and arbitration, and against the Labour Government of rationalisation, anti-Soviet intrigues, colonial brutalities and preparations for another imperialist war'. As can be imagined such a statement brought forth furious attacks from all the reactionary forces of 'press' and in Parliament. Nevertheless, as William Rust states, 'One may say in passing that this description of the tasks of the *Daily Worker* in 1930 has also an excellent application in 1940'. To this might be added that it is because the *Daily Worker* has kept to this task throughout its existence, it is hated by all reactionary forces in the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

country and equally loved and cherished by thousands of the working class. They see it as such an indispensable weapon to fight capitalist reaction that they are prepared to give thousands of pounds yearly for its upkeep.

After reading this unparalleled 'Story' of a great working class newspaper, I asked myself, What should we have done without the *Daily Worker*? However, if we have had fears for the past we can gather fortitude from the stimulating conclusions of J. R. Campbell's, the present editor of the *Daily Worker*, Foreword to the 'Story': 'It should inspire everyone to fight back resolutely in the knowledge that the common people have great resources of talent at their disposal and that their triumph over decaying capitalism cannot long be delayed'.

JAMES DAVIDSON.

SOVIET CARTOONS

Soviet Humour. Translated by Peter Tempest. (pp. 80. Society for Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R., 5*s*.)

THE funny, or rather the peculiar, thing about Soviet humour is that it is unsophisticated. That is what strikes one after looking through the sixty or so cartoons and eighteen literary pieces, all from the weekly paper 'Krokodil', in this little book. There is nothing here of the *New Yorker's* bankers and chorus girls, middle class clubwomen, aristocratic zombies and supernatural non-sequiturs. It is only on considering these themes that one arrives at the profound platitude that our sophisticated humour is merely a familiarity with and contempt for our environment. Naturally, Soviet humorists work in a very different environment, and familiarity does breed contempt.

The literary sketches in Peter Tempest's selection are simple tales and, so strange to Western sophistication, all have a moral. The cartoonists, with clean, economical lines, poke fun at the bureaucrats and the idler, the self-important and the paper planners and, strange again but significant, delineate Weather and Harvest as whimsical living characters. These are some of the Soviet themes. They can poke fun at themselves all right. Pert comment on so-called 'musical uproar' is Yeliseyev's couple in a park.

'Do you like the song of that nightingale'?

'Until I know who wrote the melody I can say nothing'.

They lark about with their own themes with an easy assurance solidly based in social confidence.

One would like the net to have been cast wider and one also wonders whether Soviet humour can be presented without Soviet political cartoons. But this is not a symposium of Soviet humour, that has yet to be done, this is a pleasant and good humoured foretaste.

GABRIEL.

CHANGES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Regionalism. By Peter Self. A report on Local Government Structure (Fabian Publications and Allen and Unwin, 3*s*. 6*d*.)

IN recent years we have seen, one after another, important services like hospitals, public assistance, gas and electricity being taken out of the hands of democratically elected local authorities and transferred to Regional Boards whose members are appointed from above. Though these Boards are ostensibly responsible to Parliament, any influence exercised by M.P.s over their work must necessarily be very indirect. At the same time, we have seen an unprecedented growth of meticulous and detailed Ministerial control over the remaining activities of Local Authorities, so

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that, for example, an elected Highway Authority cannot spend a few pounds on its road system without permission, though a non-elected Hospital Board can spend ten times the amount, free of supervision.

The excuse for depriving Local Authorities of their functions is that the areas under their control are inadequate in size and population. This is true enough, and it is why reform of Local Government structure is so urgent. Instead of which the Government has steadfastly refused to deal with the problem. The Boundary Commission's scheme for reform is not even debated; the Boundary Commission itself gets the sack. Local Government reconstruction is not mentioned in the Labour Party's election programme, though apparently Local Government is to be deprived of its last remaining public utility—water supply.

In his little book, Peter Self puts the case for reform very well indeed. He explains, analyses and criticises the Boundary Commission's scheme, and puts forward proposals for a reformed structure which would be both flexible and democratic, and which would pave the way for restoration to Local Government of the services taken from it.

The book merits the widest discussion. It is probably the best that has been written on the subject since the war, and prospective readers should not be put off by its title, which is the only dull thing about it.

N.B.

STUDY IN BLACK AND WHITE

Peacemaking in Perspective from Potsdam to Paris. By F. W. Pick. (pp. 244. Pen-in-Hand Books, Oxford, 10*s.* 6*d.*)

AS the publishers announce on the cover, 'the reader is given firm bearings in the midst of a chaotic world'. Indeed, the compass is permanently fixed towards the West. The late Dr. Pick starts from the premise that the United States and Great Britain wanted only the well-being of the peoples of Europe and a permanent peace, whilst Soviet Russia cared not a fig for peace and was concerned only with the domination of the world and providing the greatest misery for the greatest number. The author strives to give reality to his argument by counterposing the words of Bevin, Byrnes, Marshall and Acheson not to the words of Stalin, Molotov or Vyshinsky but to the thoughts and intentions behind those words. Those who accept Dr. Pick's premise will no doubt be satisfied with the Piddingtonian technique; but whoever bothers to read the book will look in vain for any constructive conclusion.

R.F.

SHORTER NOTICES

Political Opinion. By H. W. Durant (Association and Planning, Allen and Unwin, 10*s.* 6*d.*).

A USEFUL statistical summary, including maps and tables, of the voting at the four General Elections, 1929, 1931, 1935 and 1945.

The maps and tables show the movement of the votes of the main parties, regional distribution, the problem of non-voters, 'barometer constituencies' and other data helpful to the student of electoral statistics.

Industrial Law. By H. Samuels (Pitman, 16*s.*).

THIS is an able summary of all branches of industrial law—apprenticeship, the rights of both employers and workers under their contract, Truck Acts, Factories, Workmen's Compensation and Industrial Injuries Acts, the law concerning Trade Unions and industrial conciliation. Accurate, clearly written and of value both to lawyers and shop stewards and trade union officials.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'The first I've sent for years, but I just couldn't let January's fine effort go unrewarded. Here's 5s. and from now on count me as a regular'. (Staffs).

Especially I warm to this letter from a London engineer: 'I heartily endorse your remarks about the *Labour Monthly* being an improved tool with a cutting edge. As an engineer I know something about cutting edges. Though I have been a reader for two or three years and count myself one of R. Palme Dutt's pupils in Marxism, I have never before sent any money. But I am so enthusiastic about the large *Labour Monthly* that having a 2s. postal order on hand, which I bought to do the football pools with, I decided to sit down and send it to you. And the same every month from now on, my New Year's resolution'. Well, that's one got away from the pool!

Coming down the straight now—to the fund itself, I was especially pleased to notice that the new guarantors mostly came from areas hitherto not well represented by regulars. And on that point I shall have more to say next month, for which now there is no space. Gifts which I can't resist mentioning are from 'Leicester' back in the fray with another 'small cargo of ammunition'; two 25 cent pieces from Hull 'for the fight against the dollar'; and from Glasgow, a slice 'from my Christmas bonus for your superlative magazine'. Finally, all who work here want to thank those very many readers who sent personal greetings and good wishes; and perhaps particularly to the 69-year veteran in Ross, homeless through enemy action, who says: 'My dear wife and I still have plenty of guts and faith', and adds that they still say 'Workers of all countries, unite!' A happy close to a month with a respectable total, well up on the previous December. You will be using this number every day during the election campaign; don't forget us. More new firm friends for the *Labour Monthly*, please, and somehow, despite the cost of the elections, as much and more money for the fund which in December amounted to

£70 19s. 6d.

Regular contributors were:
E. C. McCallum, 5s; D. Rees, £1; G. E. and M. F. A. Philibert, 16s 6d; "Leicester", 10s; H.G.B., 2s; D. M. Clarke, 10s; Anon., Whitchurch, 1s; R.F.B., £3; L. Rowan, 6s; C.B., Bristol, 1s 6d; H.S.M., 2s 6d; "L'Humanité", 3s; D. Mayo, 10s; "Malayan Student", 10s; O. Greene, £2; D. H. Strathern and Friends, 5s; Cambridge C.P., 10s; S. Mill, 10s; J. Macdonald, 5s; S. Morrissy, 10s; H. N. Humphreys, 3s 6d; "Exeter", 10s; H. Zinkler, 5s 6d; J. Rattray, 10s; G. J. Harrison, 5s; R. McLeod, 5s 6d; "Director", £4; D.M., 6s; Socialist Sailor, £1; J. A. Purton, 7s 6d; P. N. Brinson, 10s.
Other contributors include:
"California", 16s; Mrs. Glaser, 8s; K. Shaw, 2s; P.J. (U.S.A.), 2s 6d; E. Robertson, £1 8s; J. McQueen, 8s; J. Sommerfield, 4s; J. O. Steele, 6s; G. E. Taylor, 4s; B. Farrington, 8s; J. D. Munro, 8s; L. McGregor, £1 10s; F. Humphreys, 8s; T. Brownlie, 8s; J. W. Railly, 1s; H. E. Cole, 8s; H. Humphrey, 3s; G. W. Corke, 5s; J. McCullum, 8s; A. J. Gar, 2s; R. W. Fleming, 8s; D. Scott, 8s; H. Rose, 8s; Anon., 2s; L. Clark, £1 10s; D. Spencer, 5s; J. Harley, 5s; R. J. Edwards, 8s; R.S. (South Africa), £3; P. J. Wallis, 6s 6d; L.M. (Canada), £1 2s; C. H. B. Locke, 18s; J. J. Christie, 8s; Thos. Dewhurst, 9s; E. Sutcliffe, 3s; H. J. E. Pyne, 6s; H. Eldridge, 8s; W. Bryn Thomas, 5s; P. Ghosh, 3s; W. H. Wild, 8s; A. G. Neville, 1s 6d; A. E. Geiber, 8s; W. Dickson, 3s; John Davies, 3s 6d; J.B. (South Africa), 7s; M. R. Maun, 11s 6d; W. L. Dutton, 4s 6d; W. H. Miller, 8s; D. Lewis, 9s 6d; H. Dight, 8s; L. Dight, 8s; R.S. (Canada), per Roland Mason, £1; J. McCarthy, 12s; A. A. Welby, 5s; E. L. Norman, 5s; Haydn R. Davies, 5s; T. Powell, Jnr., 3s; N. C. Clegg, 2s 6d; G. Eaton, 4s; H. Levitt, £1; J. S. A. Bason, 10s; S. Esterson, £2 11s; W. G. White, 8s; G. Sargent, 13s 6d; J. Ponsonby, £3; J. Middleton, 8s; W. Lewington, 9s 6d; F. Gubb, 4s; L. Barnes, 9s; D. Parvin, 3s; M. W. Hopkins, 4s 6d; A. Ramage, 4s 6d; M. Lesson, 2s 6d; R. D. Manning, 11s 6d; N. L. Dodsworth, 2s; W. S. Hemp, 8s; A. Watts, 8s; E. C. Jones, 4s; B. R. Weston, 1s; E. S. (U.S.A.), 10s; T.J.W. (U.S.A.), 10s; A.W. (U.S.A.), 10s; M.S. (U.S.A.), 10s; R.B. (U.S.A.), £6 5s 6d; L.A.E. (U.S.A.), £3 10s; A. G. Perkins, "Two Quarters", 4s; A. Singer, 10s 6d.

Our thanks to you all.

ANGELA TUCKETT.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

ESTABLISHED 1936

Volume XIV, No. 1, Winter 1949-50

FAILURE OF THE MARSHALL PLAN
J. J. Joseph

★

THE ELIOT MYTH
Russell Hope Robbins

★

FROM UTOPIANISM TO MARXISM
Samuel Bernstein

★

THE SIN OF PROMETHEUS
John Lewis

★

Reviews by:
Maurice Dobb, Abraham Edel, Benjamin Farrington, E. J. Hobsbawm, Anna Rochester, and others.

★

Quarterly, 50 cents Single Copy
$2.00 per year ($2.50 foreign)

SCIENCE & SOCIETY
30 East 20th St., New York 3, NY

English Representatives:
COLLET'S LTD.
40 Gt. Russell St., London W.C1.

THE HISTORY OF 1949

'Labour Monthly' bound volume for 1949 provides just that. A few are still available, price £1. Complete set of loose copies, if in good condition, exchanged for a bound volume at 8s. 6d.

Order Immediately

from

The Manager, 'Labour Monthly',
134 Ballards Lane, London, N.3.

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

To Labour Monthly, 134 Ballards Lane, London, N.3.

NAME .....
(Please use Block Capitals)

ADDRESS .....

.....

I wish to become a postal subscriber to LABOUR MONTHLY and enclose 12/- (Home) $3.00 (U.S.A. and Canada), 13/- (Elsewhere Overseas) to cover 12 months' subscription beginning with the

.....issue.

Signed .....

Date .....

Published by the Proprietors, The Trinity Trust, 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3, and printed by Dorchester and District Newspapers, Ltd. (T.U.), Dorchester, Great Britain

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED